Staying Awake at the Council on Foreign Relations by John Kenneth Galbraith

Also reviews by: Mickey Kaus, Gregg Easterbrook, Finlay Lewis, Hendrik Hertzberg, Phillip Keisling, Tamar Jacoby

The Washington Monthly

SEPTEMBER 1984 /$2.50

The Best and the Worst
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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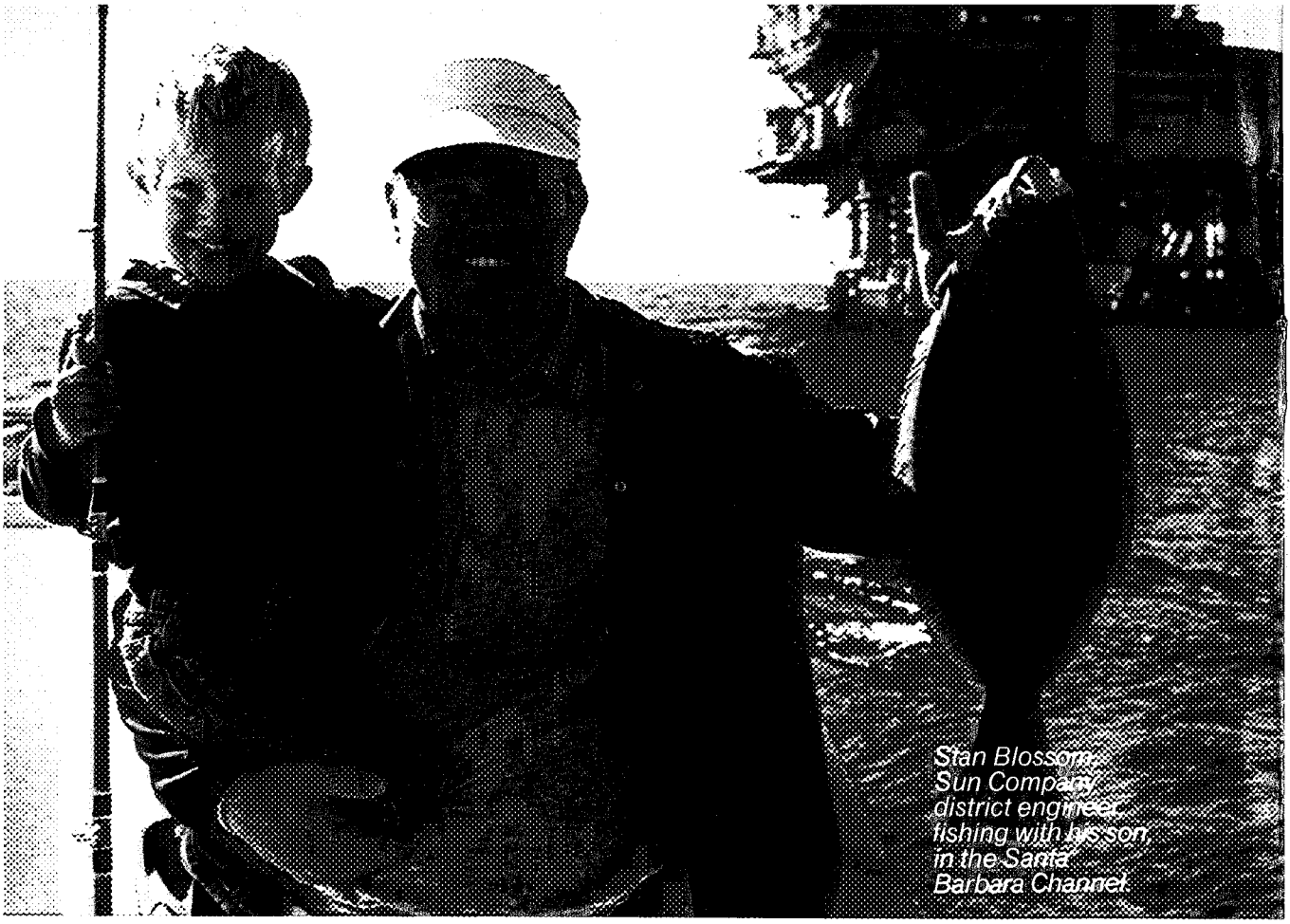

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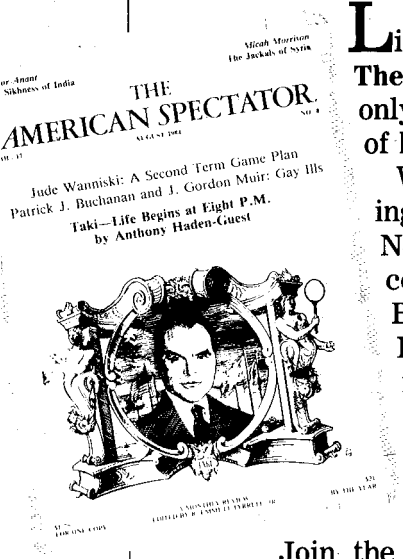

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LETTERS

No Way to Treat a Lady

"Tilting at Windmills" (July-August) frets because the National Organization for Women (NOW) wants the same kind of representation as the cigarette and handgun lobbies, two of the most powerful in Washington. It's "a terrible idea...if organizations like NOW imitate the National Rifle Association...and threaten to oppose all candidates who do not give them unquestioning support [because] to have the courage to vote his convictions, a congressman has to believe that his constituents will vote for him on his overall records, not on the basis of his stand on a single issue."

There you go again! Will *The Washington Monthly* never cease dismissing women's concerns as "single issues"? Isn't the "single issue" of full political, economic, and social rights for one half the population just a tad more valid and important than the unrestricted right to manufacture, sell, and carry Saturday night specials?

And isn't it also about time for *The Washington Monthly* to use inclusive nouns (representatives, not congressmen) and pronouns (their/them, not his/him) so that one sentence will not have six masculine references? Or don't the two dozen-odd women in Congress have the same worries as their male counterparts?

LUCILLE G. NATKINS
Great Neck, New York

Pardon me, your slip is showing. In your May report ["Who's Who in the Administration"] you state: "Two of the most powerful members of the White House staff are reliably reported to have been engaging in extramarital affairs with female White House employees." Perhaps the sentence should read: "Two of the most powerful *male* members...." That is, unless you don't want to consider Cabinet positions powerful? Or perhaps you are implying a (horrors) homosexual affair? When there is a female vice-president of the U.S., I'm sure *The Washington Monthly* will report rumors about her as a "powerful *female*."

P. L. McKINNON
Rock Island, Illinois

Futures Shock

As a former general counsel of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission I read with great interest your recent article, " 'It Must Be Legitimate, Thelma, They Advertise in The Wall Street Journal,' " [Arthur Rowse] that appeared in the June issue of *The Washington Monthly*. I compliment you on your solid and well-balanced article. While I do not share all of your views—for example I am not familiar with 8,000 as the number of "unregistered leverage houses and 'bucket shops' "—I believe you tell a story that has been often overlooked.

DENNIS A. DUTTERER
Washington, D.C.

The paragraph quoting me in your article about ads for leverage contracts managed to trip up your proofreader and writer. The typos were apparent to your readers. The factual errors may not have been. We put a hold on *all* leverage ads, not "some," as you reported. Your comment that we were continuing to run some "presumably because of a long-range contract" was unfounded; I explained to Mr. Rowse that we are accepting ads from the companies involved only if the ads are not for leverage contracts. We don't have long-range arrangements with them.

As for our editorial coverage, we alerted our readers in February that the CFTC was proposing new rules for leverage contracts, and we named the four companies the CFTC has had complaints about. I told Mr. Rowse we had writers working on an article on safe ways to buy gold (with warnings about leverage contracts) and another one on how readers who've been burned by these deals can seek reparations.

No amount of screening can protect readers from their own bad judgment, but we take seriously the trust our readers place in what they see in *Changing Times*. We have turned down thousands of dollars in revenue for ads we thought were unsuitable, even though they appear in other reputable publications.

MARJORIE WHITE
Washington, D.C.

Marjorie White is editor of Changing Times.

Nobel Intentions

To mention von Braun, the director of the Peenemunde rocket development facility in Hitler's Germany, in the same sentence with Einstein, Fermi, and Teller, all refugees from the Nazi terror, suggests that Jonathan Rowe ["Nobel Fever: Why the Engineers Left the Shop Floor," June] had better go back to school for a history lesson. Von Braun was the epitome of the practical engineer Rowe admires, for it was under his guidance that the V-bombs that smashed into London were developed.

It is too bad that Rowe's instructive article was marred by the ubiquitous anti-intellectualism posing as anti-elitism that is a trademark of *The Washington Monthly*.

LOU H. SILBERMAN
Tucson, Arizona

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Jonathan Rowe is right that America needs more R & D that can be put to practical use. At Intellectual Property Owners, Inc., a nonprofit association representing people who own patents, trademarks, and copyrights, we are deeply concerned about the steady decline in the number of patentable inventions made by U.S. citizens. U.S. citizens last year received the lowest number of U.S. patents since 1964. The number of U.S. patents granted to U.S. citizens declined from 24 per 100,000 citizens in 1963 to 15 per 100,000 last year—less than half what it was at the turn of the century. At the same time, our foreign competitors are making more patentable inventions. Fifteen years ago foreign nationals received 20 percent of U.S. patents; in 1983 the figure was over 40 percent. In 1983 six of the nine corporations that received the largest number of U.S. patents were foreign controlled, compared with only one of the top nine in 1973. Nissan Motor in 1983 received about the same number of U.S. patents as General Motors and Ford combined.

Our association is sponsoring an award similar to Mr. Rowe's proposed "Nobel for Applied Engineer"—the Inventor of the Year Award, to the inventor with the best invention patented or first commercially available during the year. This year's inventor of the year is Robert E. Fischell of Johns Hopkins University. Let us hope that America's leading inventors can attain the same status as Nobel prize winners.

HERBERT C. WAMSLEY
Washington, D.C.

Herbert Wamsley is executive director of Intellectual Property Owners, Inc.

Keep Following the Money

Timothy Noah ("Don't Follow the Money," July-August) does a disservice by dismissing the idea of campaign finance reform. Noah cites Herbert Alexander as describing the issue as "phony." Alexander is indeed a respected scholar, but Noah neglects to point out that Alexander writes pro-PAC propaganda for the big business Public Affairs Council. His continued hostility to reform is hardly evidence for Noah's claim that "many thoughtful people" are coming to the view that reform cannot work.

Otherwise, Noah argues that "past pitfalls" show campaign finance reform won't work. He is wrong. The only full reform package that has been adopted at the federal level applies to presidential elections. It works wonderfully. There have been no ITT or dairy scandals in the White House since the reforms were passed.

In Congress the situation has gotten worse because the essential reforms were not adopted. Corruption in Congress would decline dramatically if an effective system of public financing, or overall limits on special interest contributions, or both, were adopted. The present system, which limits each single contribution but places no overall limit, intensifies the problem by forcing the candidate to tap more sources.

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY

Journalism Award

for May and June 1984 is presented to

Myron Levin
The Kansas City Star

When South Korea wouldn't let the U.S. Army dispose of ammo boxes treated with a preservative called pentachlorophenol—"penta" for short—the army just brought the boxes back to the U.S. and sold them here. The EPA has only modest restrictions on this dioxin-laden wood preservative, which leaches out into the air and water and can cause illness and death. The FDA even allows food to be shipped in penta-treated crates. This ambitious three-part series is a model of science reporting and is as well-written as it is researched.

Tom Edsall
The Washington Post

The National Republican Senatorial Committee has hired a New York ad firm to construct "psychometric" analyses of Republican campaign strategy. The Democrats, way behind in party fundraising, are depending more on special-interest PACs. The press has been full of what the candidates are saying about the issues; this two-part series tells us how they will try to get our votes. The two are not the same.

The Monthly Journalism Award is presented each month to the best newspaper or magazine article (or series of articles) on our political system. Nominations from any newspaper or magazine in the country are welcome. The subject can be government in its federal, state, or municipal manifestation.

The award for articles published in June will be announced in the October issue. Nominations will close July 15. Nominations should be accompanied by two copies of the article or articles.

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Noah's proposals have some merit, but they will not have much effect except as a supplement to effective campaign reform. Indeed, the proposal for free television ads is a form of subsidy to candidates. His proposal that stations be required to make free time available is a reasonable condition on the broadcast license, but if the goal is campaign finance reform it may be just as well not to provoke such powerful political opposition on what is basically a peripheral issue.

The proposal to run lists of contributors in local newspapers is naive—who will read the lists? But the general thought is a good one. The Fair Political Practices Commission in California has been releasing digestible summaries of campaign reports to the press with great success for almost ten years. The Federal Election Commission could do the same, if Congress had not designed it to be as ineffective as possible.

DANIEL H. LOWENSTEIN
Los Angeles, California

Rails v. Roads—Part Two

Lana Batts' letter in the June issue concerning highway finance and the trucking industry notes, truly enough, that railroad companies pay no federal diesel fuel tax. Why should they? Railroads do not depend on a government-owned right-of-way, but pay for the maintenance of their rails out of their profits. They also pay property taxes on those rights-of-way, which no highway operator does. Will Batts commit herself to support property-tax assessments on the enormous amount of land which we have paved over for the highway users' benefit? Somehow I doubt it.

It is also true that land-grant railroads received alternating sections of land along their rights-of-way. If we agree to provide the commercial highway users with comparable land grants, will they also agree to provide the government with the same discount on freight and passenger rates? Land-grant railroads carried government business at *half* the commercial rates until World War II. How about it, Lana?

DAVID L. DAVIES
San Bernardino, California

Editor's Note:

In the July-August "Letters" we replied to a challenge by William Francis Freehoff of Kingsport, Tennessee that we name "one—just one—person whom Senator Joe McCarthy said was a communist who was not—in fact—a communist" by naming three: Dorothy Kenyon, Reed Harris, and Frederick Kenyon. In our zeal to defend those who were wronged by McCarthy's smears, we botched the third name: it's Frederick Fisher, not Kenyon. We also omitted the name of the most famous victim, Owen Lattimore.

The Washington Monthly

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CONTENTS

Volume Sixteen, Number Eight **September 1984**

Tilting at Windmills
by Charles Peters
The paseo in San Francisco.... the professor who took over the orphanage....and other odds and ends.... 6

The Best and the Worst of the House of Representatives
by Timothy Noah
Meet the legislators, the investigators, the negotiators, the facilitators, and the zeros. 12

Britain's Radical Center
by Laurence Grafstein
In England, both the Labourites and the Tories have a stake in a class-ridden status quo. The new Social Democrats offer something better. 22

Money Under the Mattress: What Congressmen Don't Spend
by Kevin Chaffee
The federal government has a deficit. Here are some congressmen who don't. 32

ON POLITICAL BOOKS

Staying Awake at the Council on Foreign Relations
by John Kenneth Galbraith
The lure of the foreign policy establishment is the opportunity to spin elegant theories that can never be proven wrong. 40

What Caspar Weinberger Could Learn from The Falklands
by Gregg Easterbrook
Harriers vs. carriers. 43

Too Much Technology, Not Enough Soul
by Mickey Kaus
The gospel according to Randall Rothenberg. 48

LETTERS 2
MEMO OF THE MONTH 39
MONTHLY JOURNALISM AWARD 3
POLITICAL BOOKNOTES 55
POLITICAL PUZZLE 57
TIDBITS AND OUTRAGES 31
WHO'S WHO 21

Cover: clockwise from top left, Barney Frank, Henry Waxman, Ed Zschau, David Obey, Henry Hyde, Newt Gingrich, Dan Rostenkowski, Al Gore.
Illustration on page 41 by William T. Coulter.

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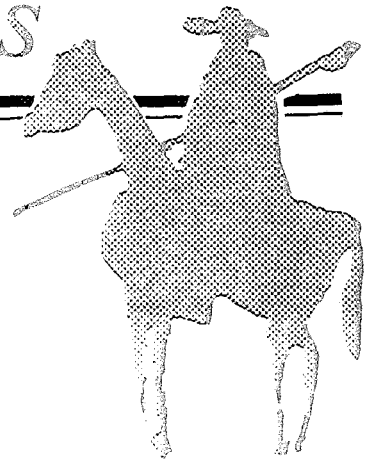
TILTING AT WINDMILLS



Washington's elite breathed a sigh of relief at one provision of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. It exempts "employers of four or less" from being penalized for hiring illegal aliens. This means that the upper class can keep their maids—who tend to be Hispanic and sufficiently underpaid to arouse reasonable suspicion that many just might be illegal as well—without fear of risking anything so unseemly as a stretch at Allentown or Danbury....

Did you notice the headgear the boxers were wearing during the Olympics? If it protects the head as well as it appears to, why don't we require that it be worn by all boxers, professional as well as amateur? Otherwise they will continue to be doomed to the brain damage that is the almost inevitable result of the sport as things stand now. We should be ashamed to be part of a society that permits young men to be harmed so grievously for the amusement of others....

If you sometimes suspect that our laws are devised by the Three Stooges in secret session, confirmation comes from these recent news items:

"California motorists caught speeding out of state are penalized only if they pay the ticket," reports the McClatchy News Service, but "motorists ignoring out-of-state tickets get away scot-free." When, however, the honest motorist pays his out-of-state ticket, the California Department of Motor Vehicles is notified, which can lead to suspension of his driver's license as well as other problems.

If that sounds crazy, consider the law of extradition. Recently Michael T. Mackay, who now lives in Utah, was indicted by an Illinois grand jury for the murder of an immigrant worker. Instead of being tried in Illinois, however, he has remained free in Utah, because Utah's governor refused to grant Illinois's request for extradition. "The conclusions reached by Gov. Matheson," according to *The Wall Street Journal*'s Bill Richards, "conflict sharply with eyewitness accounts and with court documents that raise serious questions about Mr. Mackay's role in the worker's death. Much of the evidence the Utah governor appparently relied on came from a long-time political and financial backer of the governor who also happens to be Mr. Mackay's attorney."

This kind of outrage can occur because an 1861 Supreme Court ruling left extradition to the discretion of governors.

Military law provides my final example in a case reported July 14 by UPI. It seems that Captain John Moultak, a Marine Corps pilot, had fallen in love with a subordinate, Lance Corporal Candy Clark. "They told their superiors of their relationship months ago," the report says, "in the hope she could get an early discharge and they could marry."

But, continues UPI, "instead of a blessing, he got a court martial and dishonorable discharge" for "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman."

On the other hand, an officer who had beaten and raped Corporal Clark a year ago was honorably discharged with full benefits....

Our Republican friends tell us that the administration

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really does care about the poor or that, even if some of its rightwingers had been guilty of indifference earlier, things are different now that moderates are in the driver's seat at the White House. The trouble with this story is that it was disproved as recently as June this year when a summer jobs appropriation was pending before the Senate and "Mr. Reagan and his aides," according to *The New York Times*, "insisted" that it be linked to $21 million to support covert operations in Nicaragua. In other words, Reagan was telling the Democrats that if they wanted jobs for the poor they had to support his illegal attempt to overthrow the government of Nicaragua....

The Shipping Act of 1984 eliminated almost all of the work of the Federal Maritime Commission. So its budget is being radically reduced, right? Don't be foolish. It's being increased 9 percent for the next fiscal year....

Those of us who read the *New York Post* soon become accustomed to the rich variety with which illicit impulses find expression in Manhattan. But even we were a bit taken aback by this recent headline: "BLUE CROSS PAID FOR 'SEX THERAPY' WITH PROSTITUTES." It seems, according to the *Post*, that the New York Health Management Center at 29 West 34th Street was breaking this new ground in the use of health insurance. Male patients were told to indicate on their insurance forms that they were being treated for "anxiety disorders." Dr. Alan Pearl, a psychiatrist, signed the forms, although the *Post* says he seems to have neglected to examine the patients. However, none of them have complained about the treatment received from the Center's female therapists....

Speaking of medical treatment, did you know that studies cited at a recent National Academy of Sciences conference show that:

- 19 percent of Medicare admissions and 27 percent of the days these patients spend in the hsopital are unnecesary.
- Bostonians are hospitalized nearly twice as often as citzens of New Haven.
- There are cities where seven children out of 100 have their tonsils removed by the age of 15—and there are cities where it's 70 out of 100.

The Washington Post's Victor Cohn reported these facts as well as a quote from Dr. Frederick Robbins, the head of the National Academy's Institute of Medicine:

"Nobody can get away from the potentially damning evidence that these great variations present. You can cover it up all you want, but it looks bad, and it looks bad because it is bad."...

More damning evidence comes from the Maine attorney general's office, which has filed an antitrust suit against a group of physicians who are alleged to be monopolizing anesthesiology services and charging excessive fees. The suit also charges that the doctors are trying to squeeze out potential competition by restricting training and educational opportunities for nurse anesthetists....

But doctors can take comfort that, however much their various scams may be exposed, reform seldom seems to follow. Take the racket called Continuing Medical Education, I have in my hand a glossy brochure, "CME Comes Alive in London," sponsored by British Airways and an outfit called CME Tours, offering "8 day, 7 night programs at the world famous Dorchester Hotel in London." Is the trip tax deductible? "We believe we're well within the IRS guidelines for education trips of this kind."

The education program consists of 24 hours "of a combination of morning seminar and the availability of video programming each afternoon. You may take ANY combination of live and video programming totaling 24 hours." ANY is in bold type for a reason: the video programming may be viewed in your room, where "a self-contained video unit will be installed on your

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arrival." There are seven four-color illustrations in the brochure—one of the Concorde, two of the Dorchester, and four of London tourist attractions. There are none related to medical subjects....

Why do we let doctors get away with this kind of thing? Because the rest of us are eager to join in the fun. This fall, according to *Dial* magazine, a new public television series called "On the Money" will feature tips on tax-deductible vacations.

The incredible irony here is that PBS will be telling us how to avoid paying the taxes that provide a good part of its support.....

Speaking of taxes, can you believe that Congress would *shorten* the period that investments must be held in order to qualify for the capital gains breaks? Well that's exactly what it's done, reducing the time from one year to six months, and just when we thought practically everyone had realized that one of the central problems of American capitalism was its focus on short-term gain....

What did Dan Rostenkowski, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee get in return for this gift to Wall Street? Some reform that would balance the loss of revenue? Not on your life. "In return," according to *Business Week*, "Rostenkowski won a provision that that will stop the Internal Revenue Service from seeking back taxes from commodity traders for tax straddles that took place before 1981." Did you ever hear of a measure more clearly designed to help the average man? Now you understand why Rostenkowski made our list of the Worst Congressmen (see page 12)....

In the late seventies a West Virginia lawyer was videotaped by federal investigators as he handed a bribe to a county sheriff. A federal judge gave the tape to the West Virginia State Bar in 1979. Five years later the attorney is still practicing law. The State Bar's Legal Ethics Committee has taken no action against him....

On the other hand the forces of law and order have moved rapidly to investigate misconduct charges against Miles Lord, a federal judge in Minnesota. Did Judge Lord take a bribe? No, his sin is that he sees the role of a judge not as a neutral referee but as a seeker of truth and justice. Rich corporations like the referee much better because they can hire the best lawyers, lawyers who usually can run rings around the kind of attorney the average man can afford. That is, they can run those rings as long as they're practicing before a neutral judge who feels no responsibility to expose what they are doing.

The corporation in this case is A. H. Robins, the manufacturer of the Dalkon Shield intrauterine contraceptive device. Even though a Robins quality-control supervisor pointed out flaws in the contraceptive's design in 1971, Robins did not advise the FDA about any problem until 1973 and did not stop distributing the device until 1974. It has never issued a recall on the shield.

In the past decade over 10,000 lawsuits have been filed against Robins alleging that the Shield causes inflammatory diseases of the pelvic area and miscarriages leading to infection, sterility, and 17 deaths.

"Robins officials," according to Barry Seigel of *The Los Angeles Times*, to whom I am indebted for these facts, "never acknowledged that they knew the device was harming anyone."

Robins's legal strategy has been to keep the cases separate, first because judges and juries who are unaware of the extent of the problem are more likely to side with the company and second because the judges are less likely to demand the production of the thousands of documents that might be relevant but would seem an undue burden for the defendant to produce for an individual plaintiff.

Well, Judge Lord saw through this strategy and was fed up with their behavior. He consolidated the 28 Dalkon Shield cases pending before his court and demanded that Robins begin giving depositions and producing documents. When the company chairman claimed he was unable to recall any conversations with other company officials about the shields, Lord ordered Robins to produce

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the minutes of meetings that showed the chairman did know what was going on. The order was resisted by the company attorneys as part of their continuing effort to keep documents from the court.

When those delaying tactics failed, Robins hit on a new strategy: get Lord out of their hair by settling the cases—so eager were they to do so that they gave the plaintiffs more than they had asked for—and getting, as part of a settlement, an agreement that new court orders from other judges would be required to get the documents and depositions for other cases.

Instead of passively allowing this to happen, Lord called the Robins officials into the court and told them they were responsible and that it was time for them to admit their guilt. Robins' lawyer objected, saying that Lord had "become an advocate for the plaintiff's position."

"I certainly have," Lord replied. "At the end of this case, after reviewing thousands of documents, looking at the briefs, and reading the depositions, I have concluded the plaintiffs are right."

Hurray for Judge Lord! How else can justice be done between parties of unequal access to legal talent unless judges aggressively seek the truth? This is the way the judicial system works in England and it is the way it should work here. . . .

A friend of mine subscribes to *Penthouse*. When I called and casually mentioned an academic interest in seeing the September issue, he said, "I didn't get it, and I bet a lot of the other guys didn't either." He suspects that more than a few postal employees yielded to the temptation not only to take a peek but to pilfer copies for resale. It is my guess, however, that they need have no fear of pursuit by the police. Who, after all, is going to file an indignant protest and thereby reveal that he is a subscriber?. . .

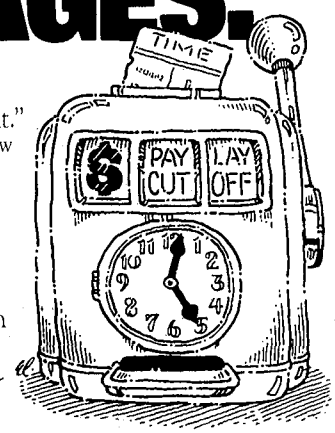
Each of Washington's network television stations sent its own team of reporters and cameramen to the Democratic National Convention. Their coverage for the most part was duplicative, so that you saw the same thing on the local news that you saw on the network. This was estimated to have cost these stations around $100,000 each. There were 385 other network stations from around the country that did the same thing, joining 12,000 other reporters in one of the most spectacular examples of journalistic overkill of all time. Why?

Obviously, like most reporters, the television people wanted to go to San Francisco. (One exception was *The Chicago Tribune*'s Mike Royko, who asked, "How can you pretend to be serious, strong, and decisive in a city where wan young men drift through the press offices dropping off news releases that announce an ejaculation contest?"). But I'm certain that by the time this issue is published, just as many or more will have turned up in Dallas, thereby proving beyond any doubt that going

THE SINS OF WAGES.

"This is a marvelous book... daring enough to capture the imagination and practical enough to invite thought."
—Robert M. Solow

Debilitating stagflation is the premier economic malady of our time. Noted economist Martin Weitzman has pinpointed the probable cause: the wage system which pays workers a fixed amount regardless of the health of the company. Here, for the first time, is a lucid explanation of the connection between profit sharing and the business cycle.



THE SHARE ECONOMY
Conquering Stagflation
MARTIN L. WEITZMAN
$15.00. At bookstores or from Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 02138.

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to a charming city is not their primary motive. What then is that motive? A recent experience gave me a clue.

A couple of weeks before the Democratic convention a friend who works at one of the news magazines called in distress to tell me that he wasn't going because of budgetary cutbacks. I wondered why he cared. He had been to a convention and knew how boring it could be when everything had been decided in advance. I then realized that his distress was not because of the intrinsic worth of the convention as an event but because of its value as a sign of his magazine's esteem for him. Being chosen signified that he was on the first team, as the relief in his voice clearly announced when he later called to say that his editor had changed his mind and decided to send him.

In Latin communities there is a custom called the paseo, in which the people walk around the village square in the evening. The primary purpose is to give the young men and women a chance to see and be seen. It seems to me that the modern political convention has become a continuing grand paseo in which people circulate to prove that they are there, to be seen as important because they are there, and to join with their peers in the warm camaraderie of mutual reassurance. . . .

If you stop and think about it for a minute, you'll realize that the frequent flyer discount offered by airlines is a disguised bribe. Suppose, for example, you're a journalist working for a major network news department. You fly frequently. The network pays for it. But the ticket is in your name. You will get whatever frequent flyer discount is offered. So it is in your interest to give your business to the airline that offers the best discount program. It is also in your interest to fly a lot on business so that the amount of your discount will grow. Neither your choice of airline or the number of miles traveled may be in your company's best interest, but most employees won't even think about that. They think the discount is theirs even though it is their company's money that bought it for them. . . .

There was a kind of anticipatory neoliberalism in the John and Robert Kennedys who took on both the Teamsters Union and United States Steel. Now the same spirit is beginning to appear in their brother, Edward. In a remarkable speech at the University of Virginia's Class Day in May, he said:

"I strongly believe in unions and in private endeavor; but I also believe that we must transcend the simplistic labels of pro- or anti-business, pro- or anti-labor.

"As a country we are—we must be—more than a collection of groups and a combination of competing regions. We cannot grasp new possibilities by continuing the old practice of always calculating every decision on the basis of who will get what. The whole of America is greater than the sum of all its parts and interests. We are one nation with one history and one destiny—and I am certain that Americans will sacrifice if we are challenged to raise our sights from narrow and separate views of an issue to a broader vision of the nation's future." . . .

The latest outrage from the education establishment is the news that Florida's Teacher of the Year will not get a merit pay bonus because she does not have a master's degree. I am delighted to see that some teachers union officials in Florida are arguing that a master's degree is irrelevant to classroom ability. Unfortunately, however, the unions have usually been allied with the teachers colleges in supporting education credit and degree requirements for teachers.

One breakthrough against this idiocy has taken place in New York, where there is a shortage of teachers. It was announced that beginning with the fall term, college graduates will be able to get temporary teacher certification without having any education credits. The result was more than 4,000 responses. At last New York can take advantage of the vast number of people who would like to teach but who are too intelligent to endure the mind-numbing boredom of education courses.

But don't get too excited. We've got a long way to go. These people will have to earn six education credits this year if they want to teach next year. And if they want to get full certification and

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tenure, they still have to have a masters degree and 24 education credits....

A couple of years ago Bill Keller wrote an article in this magazine about the tendency of lobbies to represent the lowest common denominator of their membership—the most stupid and the most selfish—even if the majority is composed of good and decent people. The reason is that the stupid and selfish are more likely to make trouble for the lobbies' officials if they don't get their way. The latest illustration of how this causes lobbies to be unrepresentative of the real feelings of their membership comes from a poll of teachers conducted by Lou Harris and Associates.

Of the 1,981 elementary and secondary school teachers surveyed, 57 percent said they would welcome periodic testing of teachers in the subjects they are supposed to know. As most of you know, such testing is opposed by both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers....

Most of what is written about neoliberals ignores, as Mickey Kaus points out elsewhere in this issue (see page 48), their idealism. That's why neoliberals, or at least those of us who work at *The Washington Monthly*, believe in, among other things, a national service that brings together people of all classes to do their part for the common good. And that's why we reject the greed that has come to dominate too much of American society—from overpaid corporate executives to union members who have sought wage gains that exceeded increases in productivity; from the physician who regards $100,000 a year as the barest minimum; to the Wall Street lawyer who feels like a failure if he earns less than a quarter-million dollars. Even among journalists and public officials, where underpayment was once a rule, couples making more than a hundred thousand dollars a year are no longer rare in Washington. With such earnings people begin to think of a Mercedes and a second home as necessities of life. This in turn means that too few of them are free to do work they respect, to take stands that count, to live lives their children could be proud of.

During World War II Franklin Roosevelt proposed that all income be limited to $25,000 a year after taxes. While I don't believe in government telling us how much we can make, it does seem to me that FDR was right to try to make people think about the kind of monetary reward it makes sense for any of us to seek....

Speaking of Mickey Kaus, if you're wondering if he's the Robert M. Kaus who has written for this magazine for the past six years and who was politics editor of *Harper's* during the Kinsley regime, the answer is yes. His friends have always called him Mickey, and he has decided that that's the way he wants to be known to his readers....

Speaking of our writers, you may be interested to know that Polly Toynbee, who was an editor of *The Washington Monthly* in the early seventies and is now a columnist for the *Manchester Guardian*, is one of the leaders of England's Social Democratic Party, discussed by Laurence Grafstein in this issue (see page 32)....

I like my hometown paper, *The Charleston Gazette*. Here is why. On a day in July when other papers were carrying lead stories about Ronald Reagan's views on space weapons and Paul Volcker's on interest rates, the *Gazette* devoted the top of its page to a picture of a man, a woman, and 21 children standing in front of a bus. The story that accompanied it was about a former Charleston resident named John Cook who had given up a professorship at the University of New Mexico to run an orphanage. It had been run by a friend of his, a Benedictine monk named Brother Gerrard, who had died. When John Cook learned of his friend's death, he went to visit the orphanage and was told by the nun who met him that she had to disband the orphanage because she had no help and no money.

Cook returned to Santa Fe but said, "I could not get the orphanage and the children out of my mind." Now he and his wife are the orphanage's staff.

That's front-page news at the *Gazette*....

—*Charles Peters*

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THE BEST AND THE WORST OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Even in the age of C- SPAN, the House of Representatives is a pretty obscure place in comparison to the chamber next door.

(Quick: who's the delegate from Guam?) Such obscurity is not necessarily a bad environment for passing legislation. One of the better-kept secrets of Washington is that the House, in many ways, is the more serious chamber. A larger membership means fewer committee assignments for each one: the result is that representatives often wind up with a deeper understanding of the issues. Senior members in particular often know as much about such complicated matters as depletion allowances, bank reserve requirements, and crop loans as the witnesses who appear before them.

Timothy Noah is an editor of The Washington Monthly. *Reseach assistance for this article was provided by Jeffrey Hackett, Kevin Kirkland, and Andrew Shinder.*

Legislators marshal a wide array of skills, but they can be broken down into four rough categories. One skill is investigation, the process of identifying a problem through staff research and public hearings: think of Sam Ervin presiding over the Watergate committee. Next comes legislation, the actual framing of a bill. This breaks down into two components. The first part is responding to a problem, as Representative Henry D. Clayton of Alabama, for example, responded to the dangers of concentrated economic power; the result was the Clayton Antitrust Act, enacted in 1914. Then comes the actual drafting of a bill in a way that will make it stand up in court and—not incidentally—make it fall within the jurisdiction of the committee on which the representative sits. Finally come the skills of negotiation and facilitation. One politician who excelled at both was Lyndon Johnson, who would perform the horsetrading that gets a majority behind a bill and then would play "rainmaker," pulling the strings and making the calls that would either push through a proposal or stop

BY TIMOTHY NOAH

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it dead in its tracks, for good or ill. The best congressmen excel in one or more of these skills, and are smart enough to hire staffers and make allies to fill in the gaps.

What follows is a sampling of people who excel at or fall down on one skill or another, based on conversations with reporters, lobbyists, congressional staffers, and past and present representatives, from all points on the political spectrum. (I have also made some consciously subjective judgments.) My selections are not by any means a precise Kremlin-photo indication as to who's star is rising or falling at this particular moment, nor do they exhaust the list of those who perform their job poorly or well. (In general, I found that my sources had an easier time identifying the latter than they did identifying the former, which may be a heartening sign.) My purpose here is to explore the various ways to succeed or fail in a government body about which too little is known.

The Best

JOHN DINGELL

Democrat, Michigan

John Dingell is the hulking chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, and his legislative domain is probably the largest in Congress. You are concerned about nuclear energy or telecommunications? Medicare? The securities laws? The environment? Railroads? Better talk to Dingell. In my search for congressional "bests," no name came up more often.

Others in Congress may chair committees that are as inherently powerful as Dingell's—Ways and Means comes to mind—but there's no chairman who wields that power as effectively as Dingell does. One reason is Dingell's legendarily gruff, state-trooper demeanor, which led the *Detroit Free Press* to compare him to a "junkyard dog." But Dingell's greatest asset is that he makes a point of knowing the rules. The son of a Congressman and a former page, he has mastered every step of the process—he's a tenacious investigator, an effective legislator, and an especially canny facilitator who knows the right buttons to push and elbows to tug when the troops need to be mobilized for action. This means he also knows how not to facilitate, a skill that can be useful in derailing any unwanted action: a few years back, when there was an effort to centralize all energy jurisdiction in another committee, Dingell emerged from the scuffle with more power, not less. "Dingell always remembers" was how one colleague explained his vote.

Dingell has wielded this clout for an array of good causes. He stopped Reagan from a too-hasty deregulation of natural gas. He's stymied the efforts of banks to break into the securities business (thereby depriving institutions like Continental Illinois another arena in which to demonstrate their financial acumen). He's been an ardent defender of the equal time and fairness doctrines for broadcasting. Dingell is at his best in jurisdictional street fights with the administration. While other committee heads were nipping ineffectually at former EPA chief Anne Burford over lax handling of toxic waste dumps, it was Dingell who moved in and slowly turned the screws until he got the contested documents, and Burford's resignation as well. He took on James Watt in similar fashion.

Dingell's loyalty to Detroit's home town industry has brought him into nasty confrontations with Ralph Nader. But Dingell was smart enough to get behind a consumer protection proposal which Nader was pushing for in the 1984 telecommunications bill. In return, Nader lobbied for the entire bill. Dingell remembers, but he also counts.

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Most respected departing member
BARBER CONABLE (R-N.Y.)

Conable is universally respected for being thoughtful, plain-spoken, and a pillar of integrity as the leading Republican on Ways and Means. Conable is the sort of congressman who will present his constituents with hundreds of flowering crab trees—as the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle* reports he did five years ago—paying for them out of his own pocket rather than pulling political strings to make it a government purchase.

AL GORE

Democrat, Tennessee

One of the most significant contributions a member of Congress can make is to investigate a problem and transform it into a legislative issue. The Kefauver hearings, at which Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver exposed organized crime in the early fifties, were a model, as were the Watergate hearings a decade ago . One of the best current practitioners of the art is another congressman from Tennessee, Representative Al Gore.

Gore came to it naturally, elected in 1976 at age 28 after a number of years as an investigative reporter for the Nashville *Tennesseean*. Appropriately, he now sits on the "oversight" subcommittees of three committees. It is on Science and Technology, of which he is subcommittee chairman, that Gore has made his mark.

Previously this had been a sleepy outpost that assured its chairman a light briefing book to take home. Gore turned it into a sort of committee on the future, exploring such threshold questions as genetic engineering, organ transplants, medical research fraud, and the international uranium cartel, and thereby shepherding these issues from the obscurity of the science magazines to the congressional agenda. He's also dealt with matters closer to home, such as deficient infant formulas and illegal overcharges by major oil companies. At one hearing he browbeat officials of the American Home Products Company into recalling a batch of infant formula that was lacking a critical nutrient.

Gore's colorful hearings have not gone unnoticed by the press. Veteran house members often resent their younger peers leaping into the headlines, but Gore is regarded with respect. For one thing, he works hard. "He's the most knowledgeable member of the subcommitte," says a staff member on the Energy and Commerce Committee on which Gore also sits. "He always asks the right questions."

Another reason Gore is respected is that he doesn't play hit-and-run with issues the way so many congressmen do. "A bulldog," a former colleague called him. Raised in Washington—his father, Albert Sr., was a feisty Tennessee senator—Gore has shown a good sense of how Congress works. By staking out new issues, he has avoided stealing other members' turf.

What's perhaps most impressive about Gore is the way he personally digs into the questions with which he gets involved. Ride the members' elevator while Congress is in session and you are likely to see harried aides trying to administer

Best-loved
MO UDALL (D-Ariz.)

Even Republicans like George Will assume a hushed tone when they talk about Udall, whose quiet dignity and scrupulous fairness command respect across the political spectrum of Congress. Illness has slowed Udall down a bit (he has Parkinson's disease). But as chairman of the House Interior Committee, he played a significant role in the battle to oust James Watt, and he remains the kind of representative you'd like to believe was the rule rather than the exception.

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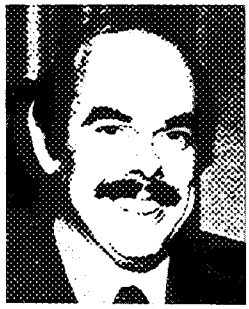
last-minute transfusions of information to members scurrying off to hearings. Gore has a dedicated staff, but more than most members, he seems to be able to navigate on his own.

(Gore is now running for Howard Baker's Senate seat.)

HENRY WAXMAN

Democrat, California



Henry Waxman is short, bald, and, at first glance, something of a schlemiel. He is also one of the most skillful politicians promoting liberal causes.

For several years Waxman has made a practice of building political support by funneling money from the very safe district he has represented since 1974 (Hollywood and the San Fernando Valley) to other congressional candidates, including old political allies from the California state legislature, where Waxman served for six years. A somewhat more crass application of this technique helped Waxman acquire the chairmanship of the subcommittee on health and the environment, as Kevin Chaffee details elsewhere in this issue (page 32).

Though an unabashed facilitator, Waxman never loses sight of the moral ends that he seeks. "God never meant liberals to be stupid," he says. Possibly Waxman's greatest moment in Congress was the 1982 fight over the Clean Air Act. Waxman wanted to keep the law intact, not only because he is a liberal but also because he represents a district that suffers more than most from automobile-induced smog. Reagan and John Dingell, the formidable chairman of the Commerce Committee, wanted to weaken it. (Reagan's reason was ideological; Dingell's was that he represented Detroit.) Waxman's strategy lay in creating divisions between the industries that were lobbying for looser pollution control requirements by picking away at particular provisions. Once one industry lost its special provision, Waxman knew the whole industry coaltion would begin to unravel (businessmen are no less prone to sectarian squabbling than their liberal opponents are). When the bill came to a committee vote, Waxman managed to beat Dingell on an amendment that put legislative heat back on the utility companies. Sure enough, the business coalition that had seemed such a juggernaut came unglued.

DAVID OBEY

Democrat, Wisconsin

David Obey is described in *The Almanac of American Politics* as "perhaps the most politically competent young liberal in the House." He has managed to be both a key legislative player and an angry critic of the institution.

Obey does his serious legislative work on the House Appropriations Committee, fashioning the day-to-day coalitions on key liberal causes like social welfare programs and human rights concerns in foreign countries. But what makes him truly exceptional is his concern for the integrity of the House itself. Most House members are content to play the process for what it's worth, getting all they can for their constituents and favored causes. They are careful not to ruffle the feathers of colleagues upon whom they lean for support. As a serious legislator, Obey does his share of leaning. But like his mentor, former Rep. Richard Bolling of Missouri, he ruffles feathers anyway.

It was Obey, for example, who pressed for limits to the honoraria members receive for giving speeches to special interest groups. It was also Obey who pushed the prohibition of office slush funds. Such battles have not made Obey popular in all quarters. But they have made the Congress a more honorable place. Obey "makes the right enemies," said Bolling, who did the same himself during his 34 years in the house.

Though a practical legislator, Obey can be stubborn when questions of principle are at stake. It was he, more than anyone else, who carried the

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liberal flame during the bitter battles over Reagan's tax and budget cuts in 1981. Whether or not you agreed with him, you had to admire his grit. And while a determined reformer, Obey also appreciates the importance of the political minutiae that make reform possible. During a recent Christmas recess, a reporter came across Obey in his office poring over a map, working out a plan for Wisconsin redistricting—long after his fellow legislators had gone home.

BARNEY FRANK

Democrat, Massachusetts

HENRY HYDE

Republican, Illinois

The political arena is filled with men of strong ideas, but there are few who can promote those ideas with an open-mindedness and humor that can take the raw edges off otherwise acrimonious debates. Barney Frank, a liberal, and Henry Hyde, a conservative, play this essential role, thereby earning a degree of admiration or even affection from their adversaries and gratitude from their allies.

Frank's old-time liberalism is leavened by a healthy dose of common sense. He was one of three Democrats on the banking committee to support restrictions on aid to victims of mortgage foreclosures so that only those who really need it would get it. If liberals don't "deal with waste and fraud in a sensible way," he has argued, "conservatives will use it as an excuse to destroy the whole program."

"He's able to pick up on things more quickly than anybody I've ever met in any field," says one congressional staffer who's worked with Frank. In an institution that can produce more than its share of hot air, Frank has a renowned gift for getting to the point. For example, in a debate on the 1981 tax bill's special breaks for independent oil producers, when a Texas congressman intoned that "the eyes of Texas are upon us," Frank said he didn't mind the eyes of Texas being upon him; "I object to the hands of Texas being in my pockets." And then there's Frank's famous comment about the tendency of anti-abortion advocates to oppose poverty programs: "They believe that life begins at conception and ends at birth."

But Frank is more than just a good debator; since his recent ascent to the chairmanship of the Manpower and Housing subcommittee, Frank has shown himself to have the makings of a tough investigator. When the Department of Housing and Urban Development submitted a document listing 60-odd "surplus or underutilized" housing projects across the country, Frank checked up on the information and found that they were in fact largely filled up with lower-income tenants. HUD apologized for its mistake. "I take my hat off to him," says the HUD official responsible.

As both a staunch conservative and the author of the "Hyde amendment," which bans federal funding for abortion, Henry Hyde is not the sort of fellow who becomes the darling of *The Washington Post*. But, unrecognized though his talents may be, Hyde has displayed the same gift that Frank has for injecting good will and common sense into ideological debate. For example, in responding to Democrats who complained that he was raising a sound argument aginst open-ended entitlements at a bad time, Hyde quipped, "I understand. We'll sober up tomorrow, but meanwhile pass the bottle." One Chicago reporter described Hyde with words commonly applied to Frank: "smart," "funny," "honorable." (The reporter added that he is also a "wonderful source.")

Hyde's approach to the extension of the Voting Rights Act is an example of his generally unrecognized flexibility. Hyde initially grumbled about the "handful of Southern states" that had "been in the penalty box" since 1965. But

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after he looked at the evidence, he altered his position a bit to the left: "I have learned from the hearings that there are still enormous difficulties with people getting the right to vote in the South." Hyde has also worked quietly to moderate the anti-gay fervor of some of his New Right colleagues.

Frank and Hyde both serve on the Judiciary Committee, where they frequently engage in debate. But the two have also developed an intriguing symbiosis; each sees in the other an opponent who can help sharpen his own debating skills and ideas. Hyde recently offered a generous assessment for a profile of Frank in *The Boston Globe*, the most influential paper in Frank's district. "He's really very reasonable for a liberal," Hyde said. "I can't think of a down side to Barney Frank even if he does have a predilection to talk like a tobacco auctioneer." Frank responded in kind: "I think he's got a sense of humor and he's reasonable." After you, Alphonse. After you, Gaston.

The Worst

TOM LUKEN

Democrat, Ohio

When *The Wall Street Journal* went looking for a congressman to profile who would illustrate the unwholesome potential of political action committees, it chose Tom Luken, the former liberal mayor of Cincinnati, now a somewhat conservative congressman from that city. Luken got a bad scare very early in his congressional career—eight months after he gained office in a special election, he was beaten by Bill Gradison, a liberal Republican. So Luken moved into the city's more conservative eastern congressional district and tried again, this time winning, but by a narrow margin. Not long after, the former reformer and civil rights crusader was opposing causes like hospital cost containment and promoting causes like weakening the Clean Air Act—while taking money from such groups as the American Medical Association and U.S. Steel.

By 1982, Luken ranked among the top ten House beneficiaries of PAC money for the previous decade, with more than half a million dollars in PAC receipts. He didn't get there by serendipity. He has been known to put interns to work calling up trade associations to inquire whether they had PACs. "Other members may raise larger amounts," one ex-staff member says, "but I've never heard of an office where they put that kind of time and energy into it."

Luken also has a reputation as the worst boss on the Hill. Congressmen who have a temper and a brisk staff turnover aren't necessarily bad at their job—both Dingell and Waxman, for example, can be rough on the people who work for them. But Luken's outbursts can be extraordinarily petty. For example, he once chewed out a staff member for not being able to sing a proposed official song for the Merchant Marine that he was about to vote on. Luken's reputation as an employer is so poor that even a Cincinnati newspaper has made note if it.

One former staff member recalls the administrative assistant warning him never to put his chair "any closer to Luken's desk than the seal

Biggest gadfly

NEWT GINGRICH (R-Ga.)

Gingrich is a thorn in the side of the Democratic leadership, and that's precisely what he intends to be. During the current session, for example, Gingrich used parliamentary tactics to help force a vote on two issues that the Democrats didn't want to consider—immigration reform and use of public school property by religious groups. But on occasion Gingrich breaks out of the liberal-conservative mold. He pushed hard to expel Gerry Studds and Daniel Crane after both were found to have seduced congressional pages. "It was not fun," Gingrich recalls. But it did show that he is willing to challenge the clubbiness of the institution and stand up for his convictions, at least when no pain to his constituents is involved.

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of the Great State of Ohio" on the office carpet. Soon afterward he was called in by Luken, who was angry with him for some now-forgotten transgression. Luken worked himself into a frenzy, slamming his glasses on his desk and shrieking at the top of his lungs. Finally Luken picked up his telephone and threw it at the startled aide—who found, to his relief, that it came just a few inches short of the Ohio state seal. Another time, Luken got so mad that he sent his entire staff home and then proceeded to accidentally lock himself into his inner office. By the time security let him out, he had missed six or seven major votes.

JAMES SCHEUER

Democrat, New York

There's a kind of congressman who takes the right stands on the issues but whose impact on the Congress is just about zero. An example is James Scheuer.

On paper, Scheuer looks like a committed crusader on behalf of the causes favored by his liberal constituents. His support of airbags, for example, won him the enmity of his committee chairman, John Dingell. But his political allies paint a different picture: "He holds these grand soirees at his house to consider great schemes to save the nation. Then he forgets to do anything about it." Even when Scheuer does show some initiative, he tends to alienate his colleagues with his tendency to shout witnesses down and humiliate his staff members in public. He is also hampered by his inability to keep his attention focused on the legislative business at hand. "He has the attention span of a flea," says one veteran of the liberal legislative wars.

Scheuer's standing among his colleagues is so low that when Dingell moved to abolish Scheuer's consumer protection subcommittee—an almost unheard-of humiliation—his fellow committee members failed to rally to his side, even though Dingell was seeking retribution for Scheuer's support of air bags. Consumer activists really weren't sorry to see him go. "He lacked respect and couldn't get support on the votes," recalls one. The vote was 14 to 7 in Dingell's favor.

DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

Democrat, Illinois

Dan Rostenkowski wouldn't find himself on the list of congressional worsts if he hadn't ascended to the most coveted (and, arguably, most important) committee chairmanship in the House. He is, after all, an able political operator—his political skills, honed in Mayor Daley's Chicago, could have served him well in the Democratic leadership. But being chairman of the Ways and Means Committee requires more than the facilitating skills of an able pol. It requires at least a basic sense of what's wrong with the nation's tax laws, and this Rostenkowski has not demonstrated. He is a case study of the dangers of getting in over your head.

"I plead guilty to the fact that I'm not a technician," Rostenkowski has said. A fellow Democrat on the committee takes that a little further: "There is almost no leadership from a tax policy standpoint coming from the chairman." We shouldn't expect the Ways and Means chairman to wear a little bow tie and keep a copy of the IRS code at his bedside, but we *should* expect him to steer clear of embarrassments like the 1981 tax bill. Instead of offering a principled alternative to Reagan's proposal, Rostenkowski started a bidding war that pandered shamelessly to business PACs. The result was billions of dollars in new loopholes for independent oil drillers, commodity speculators, and rich people generally. "It all depends on whether you want to lose courageously or win," Rostenkowski said. "I want to win." But he did neither; the Republicans wooed the PACs over to their side and won. The nation probably would have been better off if Reagan's original proposal had passed intact.

In 1982, Rostenkowski punted completely, leav-

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ing the writing of that year's bill to Bob Dole, the Senate Finance Committee chairman, who engineered loophole-closing tax reforms in an election year while the Democrats looked on. And in 1984, after a year of good behavior, Rosty's been back to his old tricks, handing out tax favors to Chicago commodity brokers, apparently not realizing he was doing anything wrong (see "Tilting at Windmills," page 8).

MEL PRICE

Democrat, Illinois

One of the saddest types on Capitol Hill is the aging congressman who lacks the self-awareness and grace to know when to step down. An example is Melvin Price, the little-known 79-year-old chairman of the Armed Services Committee, who has been in Congress longer than 60 percent of all Americans have been alive, and who is seeking a twenty-first term.

It's clear to just about everyone that it's time for Price to move on. The problem is, who is going to tell him? Not his committee colleagues, who do not get defense contracts for their district by insulting the chairman. Not his staff, who get to run things more than they would for a more active boss. And not, at least until now, the constituents in his heavily Democratic district in East St. Louis, Illinois: they regularly reelect him by large margins.

In his time, Price was an effective proponent of nuclear energy. He was chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which, because of its secrecy and novelty (remember the slogan, "Atoms for Peace"?), held the kind of prestige that the intelligence committees hold today. But that was long ago, and Price has grown quite feeble. In committee he frequently just sits while others take charge.

Price is conventionally pro-defense; his lack of interest in military reform was illustrated when he told the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that he'd never heard of James Fallows's book, *National Defense*. But while Price's tendency to give the generals everything they want is troublesome, the real problem is that Price is simply not in shape to head one of the most important committees in Congress. As the *Post-Dispatch* put it last fall, "Easing out someone who has served his party long and faithfully can be a difficult process. Even so, inevitably the moment must arrive when vigor is gone and votes cannot replace aggressive leadership on issues."

Rookie of the Year

ED ZSCHAU (R-Calif.)

Washington is full of politicians, from Ronald Reagan to Gary Hart, who claim to know what's best for the entrepreneur—even though they themselves have never been one. Zschau, from California's Silicon Valley, is the genuine article, the founder of a computer hardware company called Systems Industries. He demonstrated his practical business sense by seeking—and winning—a spot on the Republican Committee on Committees, which plays a key role in allocating committee slots. This, a veteran colleague said, is "the only freshman job with any power."

GUS SAVAGE

Democrat, Illinois

Early in his freshman term as the representative from Chicago's South Side, Gus Savage landed on the front page of *The Washington Post*. "Congressman Gets No Respect," read the headline, which appeared over a story about the arrest of Thomas ("Little Gus") Savage for driving an unregistered car without a license. Although Savage managed to get his son released within a couple of hours, he fumed to the *Post*

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about the "racist" Washington, D.C. police department (which was headed by a black serving under a black mayor). To Savage, the evening had policy implications: "I have always supported home rule for D.C., but I want it known that because of this kind of irresponsibility there is one black member [of Congress] who is against home rule. You cannot have a city where the most prominent public comes into such irresponsible hands."

Savage has remained a figure of ridicule ever since. "He's always had a tendency to put his mouth in gear before his brain goes into gear," says an old friend from Chicago. This has not helped him serve the needs of his constituents on Chicago's South Side. He has been alert to the perquisites of office, however, dispatching staff members to call other offices on Capitol Hill about junket possibilities. "I've never gotten a call like that before," said an assistant to one of the congressmen phoned.

Savage improved his attendance record in his second term—previously he had had the worst in the House, missing votes on crucial constituent issues like home heating fuel assistance—but now he's involved in a legal squabble with the Federal Election Commission because he didn't file a list of campaign contributors in 1982. His explanation is not reassuring: the complaint "doesn't have a thing to do with me," but rather is directed at the campaign treasurer. Who's the campaign treasurer? None other than Little Gus.

OTHERS NEAR THE TOP

Richard Gephardt, Democrat, Missouri
Byron Dorgan, Democrat, North Dakota
Charles Schumer, Democrat, New York
Leon Panetta, Democrat, California
Willis Gradison, Republican, Ohio
Berkley Bedell, Democrat, Iowa
Claudine Schneider, Republican, Rhode Island
Charles Rangel, Democrat, New York
James Shannon, Democrat, Massachusetts
Lee Hamilton, Democrat, Indiana
Jim Leach, Republican, Iowa
Dick Cheney, Republican, Wyoming
Les Aspin, Democrat, Wisconsin
James Florio, Democrat, New Jersey
Silvio Conte, Republican, Massachusetts

OTHERS NEAR THE BOTTOM

Daniel Crane, Republican, Illinois
Marty Russo, Democrat, Illinois
Mickey Leland, Democrat, Texas
Beryl Anthony, Democrat Arkansas
Don Young, Republican, Alaska
Robert Walker, Republican, Pennsylvania
Harold Volkmer, Democrat, Missouri
Walter Jones, Democrat, North Carolina
John Duncan Republican, Tennessee

GEORGE HANSEN

Republican, Idaho

As any regular reader of the Liberty Lobby's ultra-right-wing weekly, the *Spotlight*, knows, George Hansen fights for what he believes in. The trouble is that Hansen's pursuits are a little, well, odd, and occasionally illegal.

During the Iranian crisis, for example, Hansen proposed turning David Rockefeller over to the Iranians if they would give us the hostages in return. Although the idea may not have been completely without merit, it was taking it a little far to fly to Teheran in the midst of the hostage crisis to make the offer in person.

Then there are Hansen's legal problems. When he was recently convicted—and censured by his House colleagues—for failing to report a loan from Bunker Hunt to Hansen's wife on his financial disclosure forms, it was not the first time he'd been on the wrong side of the law. Back in 1975, Hansen pleaded guilty to filing false disclosure reports during the 1974 primary; he had missed one filing deadline and failed to file properly before or after a second. When it came time for the sentence, the judge asked Hansen's lawyer whether Hansen was evil or stupid. "Stupid," the lawyer responded.

One of Hansen's lesser-known exploits, discussed in the latest trial, involved a car that ran "on water" through hydrogen fusion. Hansen arranged a meeting between the secretary of the Army and three Virginia businessmen to discuss the project. In exchange, Hansen received $135,000, which he claimed was for a nonprofit organization he headed. Some folks say it was a hoax, but they're probably Trilateralists. ■

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WHO'S WHO in the Administration

Here's the inside story on what caused two of the more conspicuous White House gaffes during the summer: the inflammatory appointment of **Anne Burford** to an environmental committee on the eve of a **Reagan** lunch with leading environmentalists, and the president's "tokenism" remark after **Geraldine Ferraro** was selected to be the Democratic vice-presidential nominee. The Burford bungle came about as the result of a gradual breakdown of the paper flow from the White House personnel office. Personnel is supposed to pass along notifications of political appointments early enough in the day so that they can be reviewed at daily morning staff meetings held by **Larry Speakes**. But the folks in personnel have been tending to get their news to Speakes' office later and later in the day—often accompanied by notes stating that immediate announcement is imperative. This is what happened in the Burford case. A secretary named **Flo** in Speakes' office got the message from personnel and instantly passed it on to the press, as requested. The president's "tokenism" remark had not been seen or cleared by any woman in a responsible position on the White House staff. Steps have now been taken to make sure that such clearance takes place in the future. But a question remains as to what woman in the West Wing can be relied on to be sufficiently sensitive to feminist issues. One who could do the job is **Margaret Tutwiler**, but as regular readers of "Who's Who" are aware, she's heavily involved in other pursuits....

While **Charles Z. Wick** has been busy recording phone conversations and fending off the resulting furor, his 30-year-old special assistant, **Bob Earle**, has been quietly taking over the day-to-day operations of USIA....Our White House informants tell us that **Nancy Reagan** has turned against **Ed Meese**, which greatly increases the possibility that the would-be attorney general will be thrown over the side by the administration in the not-too-distant future.

In

DEFENSE

Commander-in-Chief, North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD)—**Robert T. Herres** has been director of command, control, and communications for the Air Force.

JUSTICE

Assistant Attorney General, Legal Policy Office—**Harold J. (Tex) Lezar** also will continue in his present position as counselor to the attorney general.

LABOR

Assistant Secretary for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration—**Robert A. Rowland** has been chairman of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission.

STATE

Ambassador to Cyprus—**Richard W. Boehm** has been deputy examiner of the foreign service board of examiners.

Ambassador to Guatemala—**Alberto M. Piedra** has been a senior advisor to the Organization of American States.

Ambassador to Jordan—**Paul H. Boeker** has been a member of the policy planning council at state.

Ambassador to Mali—**Robert J. Ryan** is a former deputy to the assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs and coordinator of the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

TREASURY

Acting Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy—**Donald A. Pearlman** has been deputy assistant secretary for tax policy.

AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

Executive Director, Central Intelligence Agency—**James H. Taylor** has been inspector general.

Inspector General, Central Intelligence Agency—**John H. Stein** has been deputy director for operations in charge of clandestine activities.

Deputy Director for Operations in Charge of Clandestine Activities, Central Intelligence Agency—**Clair E. George** has been congressional liaison.

Congressional Liaison, Central Intelligence Agency—**Charles A. Briggs** has been executive director.

Member, Federal Reserve Board—**Martha R. Seger** has been a professor of economics at Central Michigan University.

Member, Nuclear Regulatory Commission—retired **Admiral Lando W. Zech Jr.** was deputy chief of naval operations for manpower, personnel and training.

Deputy Director, United States Information Agency—**George Nesterczuk** has been assistant director for executive personnel for the Office of Personnel Management.

Out

DEFENSE

Commander-in-Chief, NORAD—**James V. Hartinger** has retired.

TREASURY

Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy—**John E. Chapoton** will return to the law firm of Vinson and Elkins in Houston.

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BRITAIN'S RADICAL CENTER

by Laurence Grafstein

OWEN, Rt. Hon. David Anthony Llewellyn, PC 1976; MP Plymouth, Devonport, since 1974 (Plymouth, Sutton, 1966-74) (Lab, 1966-81, SDP since 1981); Second Leader, Social Democratic Party, since 1983; *b* 2 July 1938; *Educ:* Bradfield College; Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (Hon. Fellow, 1977); St. Thomas' Hospital, BA 1959; Neurological and Psychiatric Registrar, 1964-66; Parly Under-Sec. for Defence, for RN, 1968-70; Opposition Defence Spokesman, 1970-2, resigned over EEC, 1972; Minister of State, DHSS, 1974-6; Sec. of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1977-9; Governor of Charing Cross Hopsital, 1966-8; Mem., Independent Commn on Disarmament and Security Issues, 1980-2; Chairman of SW Regional Sports Council, 1967-71. *Publications:* The Politics of Defence, 1972; In Sickness and in Health, 1976; Human Rights, 1978; Face the Future, 1981; articles in Lancet, Neurology, and Clinical Science. *Recreation:* sailing.

JENKINS, Rt. Hon. Roy Harris, PC 1964; MP (SDP) Glasgow, Hillhead, since March 1982; First Leader, Social Democratic Party, 1982-3; President of the European Commission, 1977-81; b 11 Nov. 1920; *Educ:* Abersychan Grammar Sch.; Balliol College, Oxford, Hon. Fellow 1969. Served War of 1939-45, in RA, 1942-6; Mem. Exec. Cttee of Fabian Soc., 1949-61; Dir of Financial Operations, John Lewis Partnership, 1962-4; Dir, Morgan Grenfell Hldgs Ltd., 1981- . MP (Lab): Central Southwark, 1948-50; Stechford, Birmingham, 1950-76; Home Sec., 1965-7, 1974-6; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1967-70; Dep. Leader, Labour Party, 1970-2; Prix Bentinck, 1978. Order of European Merit (Luxemburg), 1976; Grand Cross, Order of Charles III (Spain), 1980. *Publications:* Mr Attlee: An Interim Biography, 1948; Pursuit of Progress, 1953; Mr Balfour's Poodle, 1954; Asquith, 1964; Afternoon on the Potomac?, 1972; What Matters Now, 1972; Nine Men of Power, 1975. *Clubs:* Athenaeum, Brooks's, Reform.

Source: *Who's Who, 1984*, British edition.

On the face of it, Mr. Roy Jenkins and Dr. David Owen do not match most people's preconceived notions of political radicals. Their paper biographies conjure up pictures of calm, dignified, English gentlemen. True to form, both prefer to reside in the country, away from London's bustle—Jenkins in St. Amand's House, East Hendred, Owen at Castlehayes, Plympton. Energetic, yes; ambitious, certainly. But political *radicals*? The former president of the European Commission in Brussels, the bureaucrat's promised land? And a neurologist who contributes to journals of psychiatry?

At first not even the British, with their keen appreciation of eccentricity, could believe it. Jenkins' stirring manifesto for the radical center in Britain, the now-famous Dimbleby Lecture of 1979, appears significant only in retrospect. When he delivered it, the birth of the Social Democratic Party was 18 months away, and his speech attracted the ephemeral attention of the odd columnist but not much else. Less than five years later, the vision of Roy Jenkins—the bespectacled, balding, cerebral Labour Party stalwart—has upset all the British political certainties that have prevailed since the 1920s. In a country that clings fiercely to its customs and conventions, all bets are off.

The measured tone of the Dimbleby Lecture belies its far-reaching impact. Like all genuine radicals, Jenkins searches for the roots of the

Laurence Grafstein is studying at Oxford University, where he is president of the Oxford Union.

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In England, both the Labourites and the Tories have a stake in a class-ridden status quo. The new Social Democrats offer something better.

situation he wants to change. He frankly faces the problem: Modern Britain, he says, "has been sluggish, uninventive and resistant to voluntary change, not merely economically but socially and politically as well. We cannot successfully survive unless we can make our society more adaptable." So far, pretty mundane stuff, the kind of thing any reader of newspapers might say in reflecting on strife-torn, strike-ridden Britain. Then the scholar-politician briefly takes over, identifying one of those paradoxes common to the breed: "We need more change accompanied by more stability of direction."

But there is more, and as Jenkins talks, his radical goals begin to reveal themselves. "We need the innovating stimulus of the free market economy without either the unacceptable brutality of its untrammeled distribution of rewards or its indifference to unemployment," he says. "It means that you accept the broad line of division between the public and the private sectors and don't constantly threaten those in the private sector with nationalization or expropriation.

"You encourage them without too much interference to create as much wealth as possible, but use the wealth so created both to give a return for enterprise and to spread the benefits throughout society in a way that avoids the disfigurements of poverty, gives a full priority to public education and health services, and encourages cooperation and not conflict in industry and throughout society. You use taxation for this purpose but not just to lop off rewards. The state must know its place, which should be an important but far from omnipotent one. . . .You use market forces to help achieve such objectives but do not for a moment pretend that they, unguided and unaided, can do the whole job."

And Jenkins reaches a crescendo: "You also make sure that the state knows its place, not only in relation to the economy, but in relation to the citizen. You are in favor of the right of dissent and the liberty of private conduct. You are against unnecessary centralization and bureaucracy. . . .You want parents in the school system, patients in the health service, residents in the neighborhood, customers in both nationalized and private industry, to have as much say as possible. You want the nation to be self-confident and outward-looking, rather than insular, xenophobic, and suspicious. You want the class system to fade without being replaced either by an aggressive and intolerant proletarianism or by the dominance of the brash and selfish values of a 'get-rich-quick' society."

Jenkins proposes, in sum, nothing less than a thorough transformation of British society, British politics, British values. The 1970s in Britain had seen two failed efforts at moderate policies—the government of Edward Heath, a left-wing Conservative, from 1970 to 1974; and the governments of right-wing Labourites Harold Wilson and James Callaghan from 1974 to 1979. By the time he gave his speech, Jenkins was watching with apprehension as Margaret Thatcher prepared to administer a dose of sado-monetarism and maso-economics to battered British industries. Equally worrisome, he was

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witnessing the ascendance of the Trotskyite and unilateralist left within his own Labour Party.

After a lifetime in the mainstream or on the right wing of Labour—as deputy leader and the top official at different times for both economic policy and domestic affairs—Jenkins made a brave decision that conformed with his intellectual analysis of his country's politics. Either he could stay within the Labour Party, as habit and sentiment no doubt would dictate, and rely on the relatively right-wing trade union leaders to pose a counterweight to the increasingly irresponsible but increasingly powerful left-wing activists. Or he could strike out on his own and defy the grain of a nation he knew to be "sluggish" and "resistant to voluntary change."

Rarely does a politician choose the more difficult option on the grounds of principle. Jenkins did. Looking to the power and money of the British trade unions to balance the intransigence of the left within the Labour Party would be egregious, according to Jenkins. The unions "already have great industrial power, and significant political power as well. This is as much as they or any other estate of the realm can or should carry."

With that lofty bit of rhetoric, Jenkins declared his intention to start a political movement unbeholden to the deeply entrenched interests of the left and right. In doing so he dismantled the first invisible barricade in Britain's longstanding class war. A leftist by experience and inclination, he announced his readiness to challenge the unions when their interests conflicted with the public good, just as he would continue to challenge the aristocrats and plutocrats who fought for narrow privileges. Moderation was no longer enough.

What was happening in Britain following a decade of failed middle-of-the-road policies was a reassertion of the class system. The far left and the far right fed parasitically off one another. In the Tory Party, Thatcherites gained the upper hand by arguing that there could be no compromise with the unions or the hard-left activists. This posture, in turn, seemed to vindicate the stance of the radical elements within the Labour Party, who gained the upper hand by arguing that trying to deal reasonably with the class enemy was nothing but an empty chimera. A laissez-faire, anti-union revolution on the right mirrored a statist, proletarian revolution on the left. Both aspirations depended on the perpetuation of a class-based view of British society.

The unsettling symmetries of British politics, then, took root in disturbing fashion. Whatever their differences, both Thatcherites and Trotskyites draw comfort from class even as they seek the eradication of class. Laissez-faire capitalism, say the Thatcherites, will help to erode the aristocratic vestiges of feudalism on the one hand and the dangerous power of trade unionism on the other. Proletarianism, say the Trotskyites, will wipe away the exploitative remnants of capitalism while empowering the noble cause of trade unionism.

All this sounds fine in theory. But in practice, the huge gulf between these antagonistic ways of looking at the world has only hardened the attitudes of the social classes on opposite sides of the ideological divide. Each side blames the other for the country's manifest woes. Yet each side needed the other in order to have someone to blame. The trend to polarization pushes the two main parties farther and farther away from the sentiments of the vast majority of the people they are supposed to represent.

Mistaken perceptions about the Social Democrats accordingly abound. Foreign correspondents and observers tend to depict them as the party of moderation. Though this is accurate in the limited sense that their policies and ideals fall between the two extremes, such a portrait misses the essential point. The SDP arose as a party of the radical center in precisely the context of the radicalization of the left and right. Like the Thatcherites and the Trotskyites, the SDP pledges itself to dissolve class differences and liberate individuals from oppressive forces.

Unlike its adversaries, however, the SDP refuses to turn a blind eye to half of the oppressive forces at work in contemporary Britain. Hence Social Democrats do not require the demonology that sustains the two extremes. With the Tories they want to free individual workers from the collectivist tyrannies of trade unions and individual entrepreneurs from undue restrictions. With the Labour Party they want to free individuals from the tyrannies of poverty and unemployment, perpetrated in the name of economic humbug. When Thatcher invokes the Victorian values of thrift and discipline as a rationale for her policies, the SDP reminds her of the Victorian poorhouse. When the Labour opposition calls for the nationalization of more industries, increased state planning, and gigantic rises in government spending, the SDP recalls the sorry experiences of the past 15 years.

So although the Social Democrats share with both the radical right and the radical left the in-

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Roy Jenkins, whose Dimbleby Lecture led to the creation of the Social Democratic Party.

tention of attacking the class system in Britain, they draw no comfort from the convenient enemies provided by ideology. They want to "break the mold" of British politics by assaulting the source of its shortcomings—class-based hostilities so deep that the economy is not susceptible to the moderate solutions that would balance fairness and efficiency. As long as those hostilities persist, they will not only defeat centrist initiatives but will, more ominously, produce frustration with the notion of moderation itself.

The current miners' strike, which began in March, provides a case in point. Arthur Scargill, the hard-left leader of the miners who bears the eerie title of "president-for-life," used a flimsy pretext to call out his members without bothering to consult them through the traditional national strike ballot. (He had found pretexts each of the previous two years, but had lost the ballot of his members.) Scargill has made no secret that he aims at revolution through confrontation with the elected Tory government.

Margaret Thatcher reacted first by dismissing the miners as irrelevant and then, deciding that they were not so irrelevant after all, by describing them as "the enemy within"—who must be defeated the same way her government defeated "the enemy without" in the Falklands. Scargill paints Thatcher as a fascist dictator. Thatcher compares Scargill to Argentina's authoritarian dictatorship.

Leaving aside the rights and wrongs of the dispute (both sides have justifiable complaints), the mutual declaration of war offers little reassurance for the baffled British people. With both sides now committed to total annihilation of the adversary, the prospect of a realistic conciliation that would keep the industrial peace and strengthen the British economy grows dimmer by the day.

Could the SDP do any better with the powerful miners, whose actions played a large part in bringing down both the last Tory government in 1974 and the last Labour government in 1979? They could hardly do worse. Thatcher has succeeded in alienating almost every union member in Britain, presumably believing that her electoral victories allow her to pretend that 22 million workers do not matter. The new Labour leader, Neil Kinnock, at first distanced himself from Scargill but quickly came under pressure from the far left to toe the radical line. In this light his assertions that only the Labour Party can control the unions looks hollow, even laughable. The radical unions obviously control the Labour Party.

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The Social Democrats want to break the mold of British politics by assaulting the source of its shortcomings—class-based hostilities so deep that they block solutions that would balance fairness and efficiency.

David Owen, who took over from Jenkins as leader of the SDP after last year's June election, has rightly criticized Scargill's ugly tactics throughout the strike: the decision to tear the union apart by proceeding without a national vote; the deployment of "flying pickets" to intimidate the miners in more prosperous pits who continue to work; his open insults to other union leaders who have demurred from joining his self-righteous, revolutionary crusade; and the manipulation of his own union's decent communities for the sake of unreasonable demands and unattainable ends.

But Owen has just as strongly condemned Thatcher for her needless provocations of the miners in particular and the labor movement in general, for her lack of a coherent energy policy that might have satisfied the miners' grievances, for her failure to recognize the strike's consequences at the outset and her abrupt decision four months after it began to raise the stakes drastically, to the point where Scargill will be able to claim any settlement at all as a victory for his intransigence.

Though Labour politicians have done their best to pin the SDP with the label of imitation Tories, the Social Democrats would at least benefit in their dealings with big British unions from the fact that they represent the vested interests of neither capital nor the professions. At the same time, because most of the SDP's members are defectors from Labour, the party would have the advantage of understanding the trade union perspective without being hamstrung by union domination of its funds and votes.

During the SDP's early, heady days of 1981, many non-Conservative intellectuals who had become disgruntled with the Labour Party went over to the Social Democrats. "It was like a mass-coming-out-of-the-closet," remembers one Oxford SDP city councilor. "People would bump into friends on the street and ask, 'You mean, you want to get tough on the unions too?'" But "getting tough" on the unions in the SDP does not mean destroying them. On the contrary, it means democratizing them and thus taking power away from the Scargills in order to extend power to individual workers. The Social Democrats simply vow to oppose unjustifiable concentration of corporate power on the left in the same way they oppose similar excesses in business, bureaucracies, and Britain's highly centralized system of government.

Almost by definition the SDP could not declare war on the unions. While appreciating the need for robust reform of British institutions, the SDP remains the party of reconciliation, not of confrontation. The miners' strike and the Tory reaction shows in microcosm the scope and intensity of the familiar "British disease." Given the urgency of the problem, the SDP hopes it has found the right doctor in David Owen.

Pendular politics

The adversarial nature of British politics, rooted in the entrenched attitudes of the class cleavage, has for too long led to automatic responses. To a Tory, a Labour voter can never be correct. A Labour voter, likewise, can never admit that a Tory might be correct. The result is a political dynamic reminiscent of Newton's third law of motion: each vision has yielded an equal and opposite revision. The SDP faces no shortage of inertia in attempting to peel away anti-intellectual, harmful prejudices.

American proponents of neoliberalism will recognize the dilemma well. The rise of Ronald Reagan on the radical right galvanizes liberals on the traditional left, and the battle lines are clearly marked out: employers versus employees, hawks versus doves, developers versus conservationists, and so forth. The temptation to suspend judgment overwhelms the search for rational solutions. The effort to design policies conducive to the general good gets diverted into sectional struggles. The desire to divide undermines community.

In the United States as in Britain, the process is understandable, especially in view of the perverse delight Reagan and Thatcher seem to derive from bullying their foes. The unfortunate irony is that these divisions permitted the rise of Reagan and Thatcher in the first place. Yet many

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citizens continue to hunger for consensus rather than conflict and for fresh approaches to stale problems. Gary Hart's unexpected successes may reflect these yearnings in the U.S. The remarkable ascent of the Social Democrats in the one year between their establishment as a political party and the Argentine invasion of the Falklands suggests that analogous yearnings exist in Britain.

We're having a party

In the months after Jenkins gave the 1979 Dimbleby Lecture, both Labour and the Conservatives moved inexorably toward extremes. Thatcher consolidated her grip on the Tories, surmounting the challenge of former Prime Minister Edward Heath and his faction of moderates, whom she christened the "wets"—the term for school boys who refuse to play rough games. Michael Foot, a weak leader despite his lengthy parliamentary career, became head of the Labour Party as the only candidate suitable to the far left. At that point, in January 1981, Owen, Shirley Williams, and William Rodgers abandoned Labour and joined Jenkins to form "the Gang of Four" and gave birth to the SDP on March 26. British commentators welcomed the initiative but remained skeptical of the chances for political breakthrough.

The British electoral system, like the American, contains a bias against third parties that lack a geographical base. England, in Disraeli's classic 19th-century formulation, consists of "two nations...who are as ignorant of each other's thoughts and feelings, as if they were...inhabitants of different planets." Today the two nations are the heavily industrialized north, dominated by Labour, and the more commercial, agrarian south, controlled by the Tories. The Labour Party—the great British party of reform to which Keynes and the intellectual father of the welfare state, Beveridge, belonged—had not managed to acquire nearly as many parliamentary seats as they would have won in a strictly proportional electoral system. The obstacles appeared formidable.

Fourteen moderate Labour politicians and one conscience-stricken Tory had defected to the SDP by July 1981, but nothing prepared the British public for the Warrington by-election of that month. In the 1979 general election, the Tories romped home in that constituency with 61 percent of the vote to Labour's 29 percent. With Jenkins running in the by-election, the Tories were reduced to a stunning 7 percent, Jenkins picked up 43 percent, and Labour won with 49 percent—a triumphant defeat if ever there was one.

In the next few months Thatcher remained preoccupied by her fights with the Tory wets while the Labour Party, apparently harboring a death wish, strayed to the left still further. The Liberals and the SDP forged an electoral alliance, and suddenly the September polls showed 25 percent for the Conservatives, 31 percent for Labour, and 41 percent for the center-left Alliance. In addition to gathering in all those not represented by the powerful pressure groups of the right and left, the Alliance now looked poised to replace Labour as the main alternative to Conservatives (who, it seemed, are always with us).

The surge showed no signs of slowing. By October, the same Liberal candidate who had taken only 11 percent of the vote at the 1979 general election upped his share to a victorious 40 percent in a by-election at Croydon, helped by vigorous SDP campaigning. The popular Shirley Williams, minister of education in a previous Labour government and the person whom many thought would be Britain's first woman prime minister, stole one of the safest Tory seats in November's Crosby by-election. A mere nine months after the SDP's inception, the Cautious *Economist* hailed the Alliance as "Her Majesty's opposition" in a cover story. Usually averse to wild swings in fortune, the British electorate was rushing to embrace the Alliance even though the SDP hadn't had time to develop a platform or choose an official leader.

Then Roy Jenkins tried his hand at another by-election, this time in April 1982 at Glasgow. He won, and the furious computer prognostications spewed forth. The question was no longer whether the Alliance had altered the British political landscape. Instead, it was how the Alliance's large percentage of the vote in the next general election would affect the distribution of seats in the House of Commons.

Would the Liberals and the SDP siphon votes away from the Tories and help put Labour into power (even as Foot was allowing the Trotskyite Militant Tendency to purge moderate left wingers in the electoral districts)? Or would the vote split on the left and help keep the Tories in office (even as Thatcher was purging her cabinet of its few remaining wets)? David Steel—the bright, articulate Liberal leader who had masterminded the Alliance—and Jenkins could only smile as Foot and Thatcher fell over each other in predicting

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Arthur Scargill, "president for life" of the National Union of Mineworkers. Scargill's efforts to declare a national strike failed on two consecutive ballots; the third time around, he skipped the ballot and called out his members.

their own demise. If Foot was saying that the Alliance would take enough from him to put the Tories in power, and Thatcher was saying that the Alliance would have enough votes to put Labour in power, perhaps they were both right. Perhaps the Liberals and the SDP would have enough votes from both major parties to form their own government.

No one in British politics, least of all Thatcher, reckoned on General Galtieri. But his intervention in the Falklands, the very week Jenkins took his seat in the House of Commons, also became an indirect intervention in his adversary's domestic politics. Within six weeks, Thatcher's firm handling of the crisis and the feverish support for the British task force ("Up Your Junta," screamed Rupert Murdoch's *Sun*) prompted the Tories to shoot up to 51 percent in the polls, with Labour dwindling to 25 percent and the Alliance, its identity still amorphous, falling to 22 percent.

It may be that the Alliance was bound to have its comeuppance, or simply that the chance occurrence of the war interrupted a long-term trend. In any event, Thatcher and her clever political advisers turned the so-called "Falklands Factor" to Tory advantage. The resolute approach had succeeded abroad, and many British voters drew the parallel to Thatcher's slogan at home: "There is no alternative." The recession did its dirty work and inflation dropped precipitously from over 20 percent in 1980 to 5 percent. In the June 1983 election, the Tories captured 43 percent, Labour 28 percent, and the Alliance 26 percent, including almost a third of the union vote in addition to professionals and others who do not identify with the conventional class divisions. The disproportionate electoral system came into play, and between them the Liberals and the SDP took only 23 of the 635 districts in Parliament, but finished second in 312.

A year after the 1983 election and two years after the Falklands affair, the Alliance faces a crucial moment. Its political fate rests in the hands of the two largest parties, both of which have an interest in squeezing the center. The Conservatives regard the Alliance as their most formidable threat, while Labour fears being replaced as the foremost party on the left. Still, the defense of the Falklands now costs British taxpayers close to $2 million a day, and early hopes that Neil Kinnock might resuscitate his party have begun to fade. The conditions for a new center surge are emerging.

In preparing for the 1983 election, the Liberals and the SDP put forward a manifesto that explains how they intend to translate the radical ideal of a classless society into concrete public policy. Called "Working Together for Britain," it may have suffered from its refusal to eschew subtlety. The polarized atmosphere of June 1983, with unilateral disarmers arrayed against anti-communists and the unemployed against inflation fighters, lent itself to dogmatic and ideological fervor. What it lacked in passion, the manifesto made up in intellectual honesty.

In the fields of foreign and defense policy, the Alliance platform voices strong support for NATO and British membership in the European Economic Community. Labour has doubts about both— NATO for reasons of anti-Americanism and the EEC for reasons of protectionism. Unlike the Tories, however, the Alliance does not find the "more is better" school of weaponry attractive. It advocates the cancellation of the expensive Trident nuclear submarine program because defense strategists have yet to provide cogent rationales for building it. The SDP and the Liberals wanted to include Britain's independent nuclear deterrent in the START talks—a move that not only would have clarified the complications of arms control but also would have deprived the Soviets of their pretext for leaving the Euro-missile negotiations.

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Furthermore, the Alliance seeks to move away from excessive dependence on nuclear weapons for the defense of Europe, believing that stronger conventional forces would help to curtail the nuclear arms race. This concern for reducing British dependence on the American nuclear guarantee and cutting back NATO reliance on destabilizing tactical nuclear weapons would co-opt the rising tide of U.S. isolationism—expressed most recently by Senator Sam Nunn's defeated amendment to scale down American troops in Western Europe. In short, the SDP-Liberal program takes a wholly responsible attitude to the vexing problem of NATO defense and European-American relations.

But of course responsible approaches don't always make for political drama. While Labour shrilly condemned Reagan and the Tories shrilly condemned the Soviets, the Alliance had trouble selling its defense plans amid all the rhetorical noise.

The same difficulty applied to economic and industrial policy. The Alliance proposals were a model of rationality and equity. The Tories called for extensive denationalization, the kind of approach guaranteed to induce industrial unrest. They also continued to ignore unemployment. Labour, on the other hand, proudly pledged itself to a "massive" rise in public spending. The Alliance produced a scheme to cut unemployment by one million over two years by stressing economic growth and public investment in the crumbling British infrastructure, in housing, transport, and energy conservation. Its sensible plan would have increased the deficit by $4 billion—far short of Labour's $8 billion proposal and envisioned $18 billion "reflation."

The Alliance proposed an end to the "civil war" over the boundaries of public ownership and suggsted an industrial credit scheme to modernize private industry, with special attention paid to high-risk, new technology ventures. The emphasis on job creation had a thrift angle as well. Under the Tories "the dole"—unemployment insurance—costs Britain $25 billion a year, which amounts to twice the government deficit. To keep inflation down as growth was rekindled, the Alliance declared its willingness to impose an incomes policy—wage controls—should the need arise.

The perennial problems with incomes policies in Western democracies is that they eventually crack, with unions and other pressure groups demanding even higher settlements in return for their sacrifices. The SDP and the Liberals recognize this, but also appreciate the need to sustain economic growth without refueling inflation. The Conservative answer, in Britain as elsewhere, is to use severe unemployment as a tacit incomes policy. The reflexive left-wing response is to pretend that the last 15 years did not exist. The Alliance rejects both.

The only way out of the incomes policy trap is to convince key groups in the economy that they have a stake in keeping productivity up and wages down. The Alliance's proposal, which goes hand-in-hand with its incomes policy, is to increase profit-sharing and worker ownership of various enterprises. By giving individual workers a greater stake in their company's success and giving specific encouragement to workers' cooperatives the twin causes of industrial democracy and industrial stability are enhanced. Despite the Labour Party's long history, it has never managed to bring itself to support something along these lines, preferring the sham of nationalization.

Greater decentralization in the Labour movement would undercut the bosses who control the trade unions and clash with the ideological inclinations of the far left, which sees a sort of statist proletarian dictatorship as more in line with its elitist brand of socialism than genuine

Margaret Thatcher has compared Scargill to the Argentinian junta and has called the miners "the enemy within." Thatcher seems to believe that her electoral victories allow her to pretend that 22 million workers do not matter.

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worker control. Democratic centralism is what the Militant Tendency calls its ideal—just like Article 6 of the Soviet constitution.

To spur growth, the Alliance would rather establish a cooperative partnership between government, industry, and labor. This is known as an "industrial policy" on the other side of the Atlantic. What many critics of industrial policy forget is that all Western democracies already have an industrial policy, if not in name then in fact. As it stands in Britain at the moment, and as the miners' strike shows, the two largest parties aim to use government to torpedo their adversary. The Tories in power attack labor and the Labour Party in power attacks industry. Regrettably, both seem to have succeeded.

But in attending to the great British battle between owners and workers, the Alliance did not neglect the need to address the problem of the poor. Instead of turning away from the welfare state, as the Tories sometimes do, or turning away from its structural weaknesses, as the Labour Party does, the Alliance seeks a radical simplification of benefits programs. Because it is older than all welfare states, and more comprehensive than most, the British system of benefits is sluggish and expensive—with a potential for waste that would make anecdotalists like Reagan gleeful. It needs an overhaul, and the Alliance manifesto explains why: "The original grand design of the Liberal reformer, William Beveridge, has been mutilated over the years. Instead of a basic benefit, which was to secure for the old, the sick, and the unemployed, a tolerable minimum standard of living as of right, we have a complex network of benefits dependent on 44 different means tests."

This confusion occasions several predicaments. Many poor people depend on sadly inadequate benefits. Many stay in abject poverty because they fail to apply for benefits to which they're entitled. Some discover that if they work more, they become worse off. To avoid these anomalies, the Alliance suggests replacing the various benefits by a single benefit tied to income, housing costs, and the size of each family.

A brief sampling of what the Alliance stands for, then, sets the Liberals and the SDP sharply apart from the two biggest parties. The theme that suggests itself is that British unity can be achieved only through greater individual control over personal affairs. What David Owen describes as "the obsessive dogmas" of monetarism from above and nationalization from above—the invisible hand and the all-too-visible hand—must be abandoned. The belief that one side can prevail utterly in Britain's class war resembles the myopic mixture of naivete and hostility that leads some people to think that one side can prevail in a nuclear war.

Harold or hope?

The SDP-Liberal Alliance now hovers at around a quarter of the vote in the polls. If the Labour Party could get its act together, the Social Democrats and the Liberals could be quickly eclipsed, owing to the vicissitudes of an unfair electoral system—reform of which is the Alliance's top priority should it win an election or hold the balance of power in Parliament. Curiously, as Thatcher's difficulties build, the Alliance seems to suffer because the Tory wets smell an opportunity for recapturing the party. This leads conscience-ridden members of the middle class to stick with the Conservatives in the hope that the benign paternalism of Disraeli, Harold Macmillan, and Edward Heath might overcome the coarse Thatcherites.

Though the left wing of the Tory Party conceivably could enjoy a renaissance, the right wing of the Labour Party is being openly—and rudely—shunted aside by the far left. But workers in the north will no doubt stay with Labour until its demise, giving the party controlled by a radical rump a power base of one-quarter of the parliamentary seats under the electoral regime, even if it should manage less than a fifth of the vote.

Right now Owen and his followers have to escape the label of "boring," one of the worst crimes in Britain. Labour Party upheavals, internecine Tory battles, the contentious figures cut by the likes of Scargill and Thatcher all tend to make for excitement, even if they also make for disaster. Not only must the SDP manage its delicate relationship with the Liberals, it must also try to convey a radical message. Here the tricky task is that the radicalism of the message lies in its plea for reconciliation. The greater the discord, the less the combatants hanker after harmony.

Still, the history of Britain is the history of getting it right—not before a lot of pain and mistakes, but just in time to avert disaster. With 35 percent of the vote, the Alliance begins to accumulate parliamentary seats in proportion to its popular vote and the mold of British politics is broken. And then the only radical revolution that holds out hope for Britain can proceed. ■

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Know that feeling you get when you walk into a Chinese restaurant and none of the customers' faces are Asian?

When the *Chicago Reporter* recently looked at census data on Chicago's public schools, it found that 46 percent of the children of the Chicago public school teachers who live in the city attend private schools. This makes these parents twice as likely as other Chicago parents to send their children to private schools. "I wouldn't send my own kids to the place I teach," said one high-school English teacher.

■

The exhibits will explain why stamps now cost 20 cents

An ad recently appeared in *The Washington Post*'s "professional opportunities" column that read: "The U.S. Postal Service, Washington, D.C., has a position for an Exhibits Designer/Manager." The ad promised a salary range of $30,034 to $41,230 "plus $1,518 cost of living adjustment."

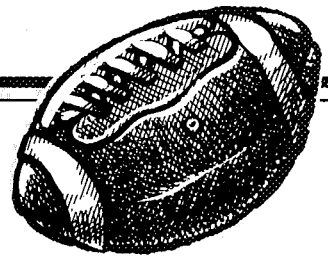
■

One way to pay off the bail bondsman

Under California law, a burglar who breaks into your garage, steals your car, hits a pothole in your driveway, and smashes the car up can then sue you for damages.

The fine was lifted after she signed a document that said, "I love to pay my taxes. I look forward to paying them next year."

According to the *Atlanta Constitution*, a woman who paid $35 in taxes on earnings of less than $3,000 filed her 1040 form with a check and a typed addendum under her signature that read, "Signed involuntarily under penalty of statutory punishment." The IRS fined her $500, seized the $140.06 in her bank account, and filed a lien against her house.



After all, if New Haven's team hadn't lost, she wouldn't have run out onto the field...

Margaret Cimino, a Harvard undergraduate who, along with a crowd of spectators, ran onto the field of the Yale Bowl and tore down a goalpost after Harvard beat Yale 16-7, is suing the city of New Haven for injuries incurred when she was struck on the head by the falling crossbar.

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Money Under the Mattress:

WHAT CONGRESSMEN DON'T SPEND

BY KEVIN CHAFFEE

Former Rep. John Burton makes no excuses for having taken $18,000 in leftover campaign funds and converted it to personal use. "I don't really give a fuck, I took it because I needed it," says Burton, who left office in 1983 after six stormy years, which included a cocaine scandal and other instances of bizarre behavior.

Burton is not the only former congressman who has taken into retirement money that citizens and PACs had contributed to his election campaigns. Others have taken even more. For example, L.H. Fountain, a Democratic congressman from North Carolina for 30 years, got a brand-new Cadillac with leftover campaign funds, according to his former treasurer. Democrat Mendel Davis of South Carolina pocketed $20,000 and "borrowed" an additional $22,000 to "pay for medical bills." Peter Peyser, a New York Democrat who is running again this year, kept $12,000 after losing in 1982. "I am not a wealthy person," he stated, "I needed it after leaving office." Moreover, *current* members of Congress are building themselves retirement nest eggs that could be even bigger (see sidebar on page 36).

Yet, contributor-funded golden parachutes seem almost innocent compared to the other uses for which campaign funds are being amassed. Members of Congress are raising cash hoards that make them virtually invincible to possible challengers. They are also using the money to build personal fiefdoms within Congress.

The increasing cost of congressional elections has become a well-publicized scandal. Often overlooked, however, is the extent to which incumbents are raising far more than they need. In 1982, 61 members of the House—almost one out of seven—raised at least $100,000 *more* than they spent. Of these, 17 had more than $200,000 left over, and of those, seven had remaining between $300,000 and $600,000. The *average* fund-raising excess was $181,000, or close to 90 percent of the amount a member of Congress spent on an average race. In other words, these incumbents could have financed almost two campaigns for the amount they raised just to finance one.

This cash hogging represented a major increase over 1980, when only 24 House members finished with more than $100,000 and three hit the finish line with surpluses in the $250,000-$300,000 range. (Senate races, by contrast, are so expensive—$2 million is now the average—that even a quarter-million dollar excess is not very significant in most states. In 1982 only Howard Metzenbaum, a Democrat from Ohio, finished with a comparatively large surplus—$1 million.)

"It is absolutely deplorable," says Rep. Barber Conable of New York, who will retire from the House in 1985 after ten terms. As ranking Republican on the tax-law writing House Ways and Means Committee, an assignment many House members lust after for its PAC contribution potential, Conable could have easily gone the cash-hog route. He's one of the few who didn't. "I decided that $50 would be the maximum I would accept from any source almost as soon as I got my seat on the committee," Conable explains. "I just didn't want to be forced to

Kevin Chaffee wrote the campaign finance sections of the Almanac of American Politics 1984. *Research for this article was supported by the Project For Investigative Reporting on Money and Politics.*

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size up all the lobbyists who came to me in the corridors with fistfuls of hundred dollar bills?"

House Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski has been less fastidious, using his position as congressional tax-writer-in-chief to become one of the largest cash maws in Congress. He finished the 1978 campaign with $79,134 left. Two years later, that had grown to $224,202. After he became committee chairman, in 1981, the money really started pouring in. In 1982 his post-election surplus had grown to almost half a million dollars. "All 'Rosty' had was $500,000?" says Conable. "I thought he had at least a million."

To make money you have to spend money, and Rostenkowski is no slouch. He reported more than $50,000 on dinners and parties alone. These included a $23,000 bash that netted him $160,000 from lobbyists, who paid $500 apiece to attend. "It was a good party," Rostenkowski said afterwards.

The lobbyists thought so too. The Democratic "alternative" to Reagan's tax bill that Rostenkowski orchestrated that year was a tawdry fugue on the theme of industry contributions. *The Wall Street Journal* reported, for example, that utility lobbyists and related unions shelled out $16,000 to attend Rostenkowski's party and later received in the tax bill—no connection is implied—a special loophole that will cost the Treasury $1.6 billion that it doesn't have over the next five years. There was even $500 from the American Horse Council, which sought—and won—faster write-offs for the essential equine component of economic recovery.

> Congressional incumbents in safe seats are raising cash hoards that make them virtually invincible to challengers.

Rostenkowski explains his cash appetite like a freshman with reelection jitters. "Anyone in a high position like chairman of Ways and Means has to expect a lot of adverse reaction." Yet he hasn't received less than 75 percent of the vote in over a decade and is unlikely to draw a millionaire opponent in his heavily ethnic district on Chicago's North Side. In 1980 and 1982, years in which he won with more than 80 percent of the vote, his token Republican opponents had no campaign money to speak of.

Yet the Ways and Means chairman continues to rake it in. With no opponent in sight he has collected another $296,729 since the beginning of 1983, mostly from lobbyists and PACs. "I'm comforted," he told *The Wall Street Journal.*

Rostenkowski should derive additional comfort from the $78,850 he received for giving speeches to interest-group supporters, a gab-for-pay level far above that of any other House member.

The table on page 34 suggests the magnitude of this syndrome. Not one of these representatives faces significant opposition, according to a mid-July analysis prepared by Charles Cook, editor of the *National Political Review* and a former Democratic party official. Only a few have received less than 70 percent of the vote any time in their careers, and even that was usually for their first election, before they became entrenched. With one exception (House Banking Committee chairman Fernand St Germain), all 12 had more money left over from their 1982 races than they had spent. Yet, with the exception of one other member, Republican Bill Archer from Texas, all continued to raise substantial sums during the first 18 months of the current election cycle.

Before you start to worry about Rep. Archer, there's something else to bear in mind. Some of these war chests, his included, have become so large that it is now possible to finance the greater part of a campaign on interest earnings alone. In 1982 Archer and three other House members covered over one-half their election costs in this way: Republican William Broomfield of Michigan, 59 percent; Democrat John LaFalce of New York, 57 percent; Texas Democrat Jake Pickle, 53 percent; and Archer, 50 percent.

"It's a great position to be in, enthused an aide to Broomfield, who represents wealthy Detroit suburbs such as Birmingham and Bloomfield Hills.

Huge cash balances and self-financing campaigns give these incumbents an aura of invincibility. A study headed by University of Michigan professor Edith Goldberg indicates that money spent early in a campaign—when incumbents have it and challengers often don't—can be more important than the more visible expenditures made as the election day gets closer.

To demonstrate how prodigious this shutout factor can become, a veteran Democratic campaign expert cites a recent example from Louisiana, a state not known for its puritanism where election money is concerned. "Representative Henson Moore was thinking of challenging

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Senator Bennett Johnston this time around. He had around $500,000 in the bank and thought he could raise another million easily enough. But he figured he'd need $3 million at least to make a go of it against one of the Senate's biggest fund-raisers. There was just no way he was going to raise that much so he backed off." If a well-heeled Republican with $500,000 in the bank can't mount an effective Senate campaign, just think where that leaves someone starting from scratch.

Not every incumbent with a big campaign stash can scare off opponents, but when they don't, they generally do a pretty good job of winning. Many incumbents, however, spend big even when they don't need to. This can be a way to discourage future opponents, and to provide nice campaign jobs for relatives and friends to boot. In 1982 more than 40 incumbents spent more than $200,000 in spite of little or no opposition. Each won with at least two-thirds of the vote. Riding a steamroller over weak opponents can establish one's credentials for statewide or national office as well. This may explain why Rep. Tony Coehlo, who heads the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and Republican Rep. Jack Kemp, whose presidential aspirations are no secret, outspent their opponents by 7 to 1 and 66 to 1, respectively, in 1982.

Not all the incumbents who vastly outspent their opposition saw themselves as juggernauts hell-bent on higher things. Some were plain scared. Leading Democrats like Morris Udall and Timothy Wirth, for example, had new constituents due to redistricting, including many suburbanites who had voted for Reagan in 1980. Each had Republican opponents brandishing the threat of their own massive war chests, and each was haunted by the spectre of 1980, when right-wing groups like NCPAC had knocked off a number of seemingly safe incumbents through massive infusions of cash. "It happened in 1978," recalled Cary Caton, Wirth's administrative assistant. "Everything was going smoothly when, out of the blue, 200,000 wacko letters arrived a week before the election at every house in the district."

To ward off the demon, both Udall and Wirth frantically raised money between elections and set in motion large-scale campaigns with expensive consultants and media buys. The economy turned in the Democrats' favor and the Republican opposition's money never materialized. Udall and Wirth went ahead and outspent their opponents 7 to 1 anyway—laying out $840,000 and $750,000 respectively—and won handily.

Shaking down the PACs to build campaign cash hoards is not without redeeming features. A few members of Congress actually function as one-man income redistribution programs, taking

Top Cash Hoards in Congress as Reported in Federal Election Commission Reports

	% Votes Received 1982	*Leftover Cash January 1, 1983*	*Cash on Hand June 30, 1984*
Daniel Rostenkowski, D-Ill.	*83%*	*$494,894*	*$592,332*
Henson Moore, R-La.	*87%*	*331,562*	*604,080*
Fernand St Germain, D-R.I.	*61%*	*273,466*	*508,868*
Tom Loeffler, R-Tex.	*75%*	*384,809*	*441,875*
William Archer, R-Tex.	*85%*	*411,241*	*431,057*
J.J. Pickel, D-Tex.	*90%*	*262,011*	*373,546*
Robert Livingston, R-La.	*86%*	*241,537*	*401,328*
Jerry Huckaby, D-La.	*83%*	*217,698*	*303,221*
Marvin Leath, D-Tex.	*82%*	*173,151*	*302,187*
William Broomfield, R-Mich.	*73%*	*193,929*	*291,340*
John LaFalce, D-N.Y.	*91%*	*225,614*	*234,462*

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Tip O'Neill donated $25 in surplus campaign funds to St.Leonard's Church in Boston—and gave $2,000 in Waterford crystal as Christmas gifts to his staff.

the money from the PACs and giving it to those in need. Speaker Tip O'Neill's campaign report shows, among other such contributions, $25 to St. Leonard's Church in Boston, $100 to Catholic Charities in Cambridge, and $250 to the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation (along with $2,000-worth of Waterford crystal he gave as Christmas gifts to his staff). Dan Rostenkowski sprung for $1,500 to the Chicago Boys Clubs, $250 to the Polish-American Guardian Society, $300 to something called the "Dan Rostenkowski Youth Council," and $500 to Misericordia, an organization helping Chicago's derelicts (the FEC report does not indicate whether they voted). In the tradition of Chicago politics, moreover, he spread out the boodle to local aldermen for their reelection drives as well.

Such Robin Hood gestures would be more admirable if they weren't so token. Rostenkowski gave away about $25,000 in this fashion—counting the local politicians—or less than 5 percent of his hoard.

The fact is, Rostenkowski and other House members have shown a good deal more charity for each other than they have for the Boys Clubs and Misericordias, In the past such support has taken the form of campaign appearances, joint fundraisers and the like, but the rise of the cash-hoarding House members has given the process a whole new dimension. Some congressmen are using their money not only to help members of their own party, but to win influence with their colleagues, much the way lobbyists do.

Presidential aspirants have been the leaders in this trend. Howard Baker's Republican Majority Fund had amassed close to $3 million through March of this year, while on the other side of the aisle, Ted Kennedy's Fund for a Democratic Majority had over $1.5 million. Coming on strong were Jack Kemp's Campaign for Prosperity and Senator Bob Dole's Campaign America, both with close to a million dollars to dispense this fall. None of this money will damage either the legislative agendas or career prospects of those who dispense it to fellow members of Congress.

In a similar vein is the National Congressional Club, which is the personal PAC of arch-conservative Senator Jesse Helms. With almost $4 million in its coffers, it is the second largest in the country (NCPAC is first, with over $7 million). Helms' aim is not to be president but to advance his right-wing agenda. In 1982 he dispersed more than $130,000 to 14 Senate and 55 House candidates, all but one of whom were Republican.

While Republicans have their share of single-member PACs, they have also greatly centralized their fundraising through the party. This enables them to channel their resources as the need arises, shoring up shaky incumbents and boosting challengers with a real chance to win. The Democrats are way behind in this respect. Their central fundraising apparatus is still relatively weak. Individual House members have stepped into the breach, acting as sugar daddies on their own. While the impulse is at times admirable, the results are not always for the best.

An example is Rep. Henry Waxman, a liberal Democrat who represents Hollywood and the San Fernando Valley. In 1981-82 Waxman gave more than $20,000 to other congressional candidates who served on his House committee and another $32,750 to state and local Democrats.

This was only the beginning. A personal campaign committee like Waxman's can give only $1,000 per candidate, so he set up a 24th District PAC (named after his California district). Since PACs are permitted to give $5,000 to an individual candidate per election, his giving power multiplied five times over. Through his personal PAC, Waxman gave out another $73,000.

In all, Waxman helped finance three Senate races and 30 House races. Two recipients were specially favored: California Democrats Matthew Martinez and the late John Burton. Follow the bouncing ball, and you will gain some idea of how campaign money walks. Martinez had four contests within a single year: a primary and general election to fill an unexpired term and then a rerun of the same process for the full 1983-84 term. Waxman's committee-cum-PAC gave him the maximum: $5,000 per election from the PAC and $1,000 per election from the committee, a total of $24,000. In these same circumstances, individual citizens would have been limited to a maximum contribution of $4,000.

Burton had only two elections, and he received the maximum allowed from the two Waxman

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funds: $12,000. Since Burton's committee in turn gave Martinez $2,000, certain conclusions might be drawn by devious minds. Because Waxman is closely allied with fellow California congressmen Howard Berman and Mel Levine, the united contributing power of the triumvirate is multiplied still further. Acting through their respective committees, Berman and Levine gave $96,325 to local and state Democratic causes and an additional $24,500 to one Senate and 13 House candidates. Martinez received another $7,000 from the two, for a combined total of $33,000—if the Burton contribution is included. Martinez has been quoted saying that he is not "controlled" by Waxman, that he "goes to him for advice. . .as a man of wisdom."

In addition to Martinez and Rep. Sala Burton (Philip Burton's widow and replacement in Congress), members of the Waxman "machine" may eventually include California representatives Esteban Torres, Julian Dixon, Douglas Bosco, and Barbara Boxer, all of whom received money from Waxman or his PAC during the last election and agree with his general legislative agenda.

And what's so bad about that? "Hell," says Bert Hoffman, Waxman's administrative assistant and a veteran observer of Washington politics, "we're just trying to elect more good liberal Democrats. Period. It's tough for junior members on bad committees to raise money. We can do it. With the Democrats so far behind the Republicans in money advantage, we feel that anything we can do to supplement the national party efforts is desirable, and we are not concerned at all about what people say."

Hoffman has a point. With all the special-interest money pouring into election campaigns, almost any counterweight is welcome. Waxman, moreover, has been a true champion of clean air and other important causes and has distributed his money with this in mind. His distributions have raised eyebrows nevertheless, especially when they appeared to help him win the chairmanship of the powerful Health and Environment Subcommittee over a more senior Democrat back in 1978. Waxman had state repeatedly that his positions, and not his money, were the factor, but the episode raised troubling possibilities of how PACs controlled by individual representatives might be used.

Waxman is not the only House member distributing excess campaign funds to his colleagues. Steve Solarz of Brooklyn had a tidy $600,000 left over after the '82 elections, due in

YOU CAN TAKE IT WITH YOU

If you are fortunate enough to be a congressman elected before January 8, 1980, there is absolutely nothing illegal about converting your excess campaign contributions into an individual retirement account. In a truly monumental display of hypocrisy, members of Congress exempted (or "grandfathered") themselves when they passed the 1979 Federal Campaign Act, which prohibited the practice only to House members not yet elected.

Four years later there are still 285 grandfathered congressmen who can continue salting away campaign funds to spend just about any way they want when they leave office. Those elected since 1980, however, can use such leftover money only for political or charitable contributions, or, of course, they can give the money back.

The Federal Election Commission reports show that use of this loophole is widespread. Some examples are mentioned in the main text; here are a few others:

- Thomas L. Ashley (Democrat, Ohio, 1955-1981) took $20,000 and later stated it "didn't give me a hell of a lot of trouble. I used it to help tide me over."
- Kenneth L. Holland (Democrat, South Carolina, 1975-1983) refunded $25,435 to contributors and then loaned himself $75,000 out of the remainder. He also apparently has kept a $5,735 automobile that his committee bought before he left office.
- Donald Mitchell (Republican, New York, 1973-1983) had $57,628 left over when he left the House in 1983. He has reported expenditures of $7,443, mostly for charitable contributions, subscriptions, flowers, and graduation gifts.
- William C. Wampler (Republican, Virginia, 1966-1983) had $35,000 on hand after his defeat. He has given himself interest-free loans totaling $14,900 and purchased (from himself) more than $5,000 worth of office furniture.

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part to a primary fight that never came about. He doled out a bit of it to 26 challengers and 23 incumbents—$22,300 in all. Of the 23 incumbents, ten sit on the same committee as he does and are in a position to return the favor in tangible ways. Solarz could not be expected to know in advance precisely who really would need the money and who wouldn't, but it bears noting that 18 of the incumbents to whom he contributed won with more than 55 percent of the vote, the accepted definition of a healthy victory.

"*Of course* people will be grateful and my presumptive influence will be enhanced," says Solarz, who maintains that a contribution of money is no different from an endorsement or a campaign appearance in a colleague's home district.

I Took At the Office

A House member with an indisputable soft spot for safe-seat colleagues is Ways and Means Chairman Rostenkowski. More than half of his contributions went to members of his own committee, and more than half of those were to colleagues who had more than $50,000 left over when the campaign was finished. For example, Ways and Means member Wyche Fowler, a Democrat from Atlanta, received $250 from his committee chairman, even though he still had $179,000 in the bank after the campaign. Robert Matsui, a Sacramento Democrat, also received $250 from Rostenkowski, which he tucked away with the rest of his $163,000 campaign surplus. Fowler and Matsui won with 81 percent and 90 percent of the vote, respectively.

FEC records for the 1982 election reveal an increasing number of non-leadership House members making substantial contributions to colleagues. Among these are Democrat Charles Schumer of New York, $26,000, and Republicans Bill Thomas of California, $32,500, and Bill Frenzel of Minnesota, $45,000, in addition to Waxman and Rostenkowski.

Members of Congress usually deny that contributions from interest-group PACs affect their votes, for understandable reasons. But when the subject of member-to-member giving arises, the denials soften. "It's different somehow with a colleague I see every day on a collegial basis if I've gotten their money," one congressman said. "What develops is an 'I was there when you needed me' sort of relationship which is unspoken but nevertheless unmistakable."

The administrative assistant to a New York

● Ray Roberts (Democrat, Texas, 1962-1981) transferred $13,014 to personal use. He told *U.S. News and World Report* that he "wished it had been more."

Other members in effect turned their old campaign chests into PACs. Former Michigan Congressman David Stockman, for example, established his Free Enterprise Fund with $30,930 from his campaign committee after he left office to become chief of Reagan's Office of Management and Budget. Stockman contributed $4,000—the legal maximum—to his former campaign chief's unsuccessful bid for Stockman's old seat. Since then the only payments shown in the FEC reports are $6,500 on food and beverages, mostly from Ridgewell's, an exclusive Washington catering firm. Stockman had scored points as a tight-fisted administrator by not seeking discretionary funds for OMB office parties and the like; that's what his campaign stash was for.

Rep. Andrew Jacobs is the only "grandfathered" member actively seeking to abolish the House personal-use loophole. "How can any member stand up with a straight face and say that it is wrong to convert funds if elected after a certain date and not before?" he asks. "These funds are given for a *purpose*—to get elected—not to provide a civil service retirement fund. We already have a very generous one. When I think of those who have engaged in this sort of practice, only the word 'sleazy' comes to mind."

Jacobs points out that the loophole passed mainly because it was hidden away in a complicated bill and thus never came up separately for a record vote. "I didn't even hear about it until a couple of days afterwards," he said. The congressman most responsible for this maneuver was then-House Administration Committee Chairman Frank Thompson, who later used $24,000 in campaign funds for legal fees in his Abscam trial.

Jacobs isn't sure he likes the way even newer members can give their excess campaign funds to political races or charities when they leave office, because they still get personal credit for money other people gave them. He is thinking of proposing that all such money be returned pro rata to all contributors in the last election. "I will be there one day with a floor amendment," Jacobs says. —*Kevin Chaffee*

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Democrat adds that "it could be any single issue or just a constant. . . feeling that they have bought a part of you. With Rostenkowski it would be a vote on tax legislation; with Solarz, Israel; with Waxman, it's clean air, the environment in general, and Israel."

"Let's face it," said Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa, a respected Republican moderate and ardent proponent of campaign finance reform. "The getting and giving of money represents implicit contracts on all levels. It's a new dimension to congressional politics that permits members to enhance their own power within Congress by doling out other people's money."

Super Scoopers

Solarz is the latest House member to announce that he, too, will be forming a PAC. "With so much left over that I didn't need I wouldn't have the chutzpah to ask for myself again," Solarz says. He calls the PAC a "more up-front, elegant, and consistent way to continue raising money."

Not all their colleagues, however, find the cash-garnering of House members like Solarz "elegant," even when it's up front. "I can't tell you how disgusted I am," says a Democrat from a neighboring state who faces a tough reelection fight this year. "This guy is sitting on a mountain of money in one of the safest districts in America, and now he's starting a PAC to rake in even more. He can't raise much in New York because they won't buy his pitch that he's the saviour of the Jews anymore there. He has to go to Texas and Oklahoma where they'll still believe the story. We'll see just how much he gives to Democrats who need help and how much goes to people on his committees."

Indeed, this is the major criticism that you hear of members such as Rostenkowski and Solarz. It's not just how much they raise; it's also how *little* they give away, and to whom. "It's hard to convey to you what it's like to work for a congressman who's constantly fighting for survival and is on numerous hit lists," says one administrative assistant to a Democrat from the West. "Then you look at some committee chairman who's piling it up and doesn't need it. There is only an ultimate amount of kitty out there; it's not a bottomless pit."

"The worst thing is that they never have enough," says a liberal Democrat from an eastern state. "They just sit back and scoop it up, taking it away from the poor bastards who really need the funding to survive, the ones who have to mortgage their houses in order to make a last-ditch media buy." This congressman suspects that a number of his older colleagues are really building up big retirement slush funds (see sidebar page 36). "Of course they're planning to take it with them," he says. "I could look at a list of these big war chests and tell you who will do it.

One finds similar resentment in the Senate, some of it directed against Senator Metzenbaum. "Metzenbaum wouldn't even give anything to his own cousin [Harriet Woods, who was running for the Senate in Missouri in 1982] until it was too late," a veteran Senate staff member said. "He had a million he didn't need. She was begging him for it. . . .They give away a few thousand dollars, maybe 2 percent of their hoard, and then act as if they are doing everyone a big favor. Pickle is the same way and St Germain. We all read the FEC reports."

Indeed, one victim of the cash hoarding by senior members of Congress is the Democratic party itself. Gary Jacobsen of the University of California, an expert on campaign financing, has observed that the Democrats should have picked up twice the number of House seats that they did in 1982, given the state of the economy. Among the reasons they missed this opportunity, the underfunding of Democratic challengers loomed large.

"In 1980 Republican challengers were unusually well funded, and so Republicans did unusually well," Jacobsen writes in *Money and Politics in the United States*, published recently by the American Enterprise Institute. "In 1982 Democratic challengers were not as well funded as political conditions seemed to warrant, so Democrats did not do as well as they might have." Why didn't these Democrats have the funds to prevail, the way their Republican counterparts had two years previously? For one thing, Jacobsen says, Democratic incumbents were raising so much.

In other words, some Democratic House members seem to be pulling up the ladder, absorbing funds that could be used to add cohorts to their ranks. Even when these senior members use their cash hoards to help their brethren, too often it's to buy loyalty from colleagues who don't really need the money. Others are hoarding their campaign stashes simply for their retirement. This is not what they were given the money for, and it is not in the party's interest to have its national fundraising efforts undermined this way. ■

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MEMO OF THE MONTH

CW

DATE: ~~MARCH 13~~ April 11, 1984

TO: ALL TENANTS
1800 K STREET

FROM: CAREY WINSTON COMPANY

RE: COFFEE POTS

We have installed special faucets in the women's restroom of each floor that allow filling of coffee and tea pots, and make it easier to clean coffee cups and large kitchenware.

It is our hope that the water fountains will no longer be used for this purpose. Your cooperation will result in a much cleaner carpet and improved overall appearance in the public corridors.

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ON POLITICAL BOOKS

Staying Awake at the Council on Foreign Relations

BY JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

To understand the past role of the Council on Foreign Relations in American life one must first have a view of the cultural anthropology of American foreign policy. In the past it has been the principal association with the American government of the man of distinction. Scientists could be at the Department of Agriculture; economists could inhabit the Departments of Labor or Commerce; the State Department and, during and after World War II, the OSS, CIA, and Marshall plan belonged to persons of higher social position, business or financial standing, legal reputation, or academic accomplishment. I do not include here the modern career officers, from my experience a superior cadre of public servants, although the foreign service, also, in an earlier time, reflected the general belief that foreign affairs was the only fit public career for a gentleman. There is also, to be sure, the cruder type of political ambassador, the unbuttoned fertilizer manufacturer, but he is tolerated, not accepted, and is regarded by the better people as something of an aberration.

Next in this catalog of cultural characteristics is the nature of foreign policy. As practiced, it is for many participants the least demanding intellectually of public occupations. That is because, the outcome of almost any action or series of actions being largely unknown, the individual who knows little is not greatly handicapped as compared with the individual who knows much. What is regularly required for attention and success is a compelling certainty of manner and speech and a strong instinct for articulating what most at the moment already believe. That gets the approval and applause and marks the individual as having good judgment.

Finally, and partly for the above reasons, participation in matters having to do with foreign policy is greatly enjoyed. But also it opens on far horizons, a view of different and exciting worlds. And there is a certain, if morbid, excitement in the association with matters that can cost others, and in these days perhaps everyone, their lives. One consequence is a great competition to be in on any action. I could not help observing during my tours with the State Department, as I am sure have others, that there were always far more people yearning for participation than there were available crises to employ them. Even a minor *contretemps* brought a crush of eager volunteers, all yearning for a piece of the action.

It follows not surprisingly from the foregoing that people who have participated in an active (or even marginal) way in the making or management of foreign policy remember it as the happiest time of their lives. Returning or going on, as they must, to financially more remunerative or professionally more secure occupations, or losing office with political change, they continue to cherish their great moments. In consequence, organizations have developed to nurture the illusion and, it is hoped, a little of the reality of continuing association. Meetings of great solemnity, if of no great consequence, convey to the participant the rewarding feeling of continuing relevance. Such is the principal service of the Bilderburg Convocation, the Trilateral Commission, and, over the years, the best-known of all, the Council on Foreign Relations. All are held, especially by the radical right, to have a large and deeply sinister influence on American foreign policy. This is routinely denied and remains the greatest hope, even illusion of their members. Surely somewhere in the country and the world there is a role for individuals—informed, responsible, affluent, and above all experienced—who are effective voices on foreign policy. The latter is not something that can be left to Congress, parliaments, and politicians and certainly not to the masses.

The Council on Foreign Relations began with the alumni of the Versailles Conference after

John Kenneth Galbraith allowed his membership at the Council on Foreign Relations to expire.

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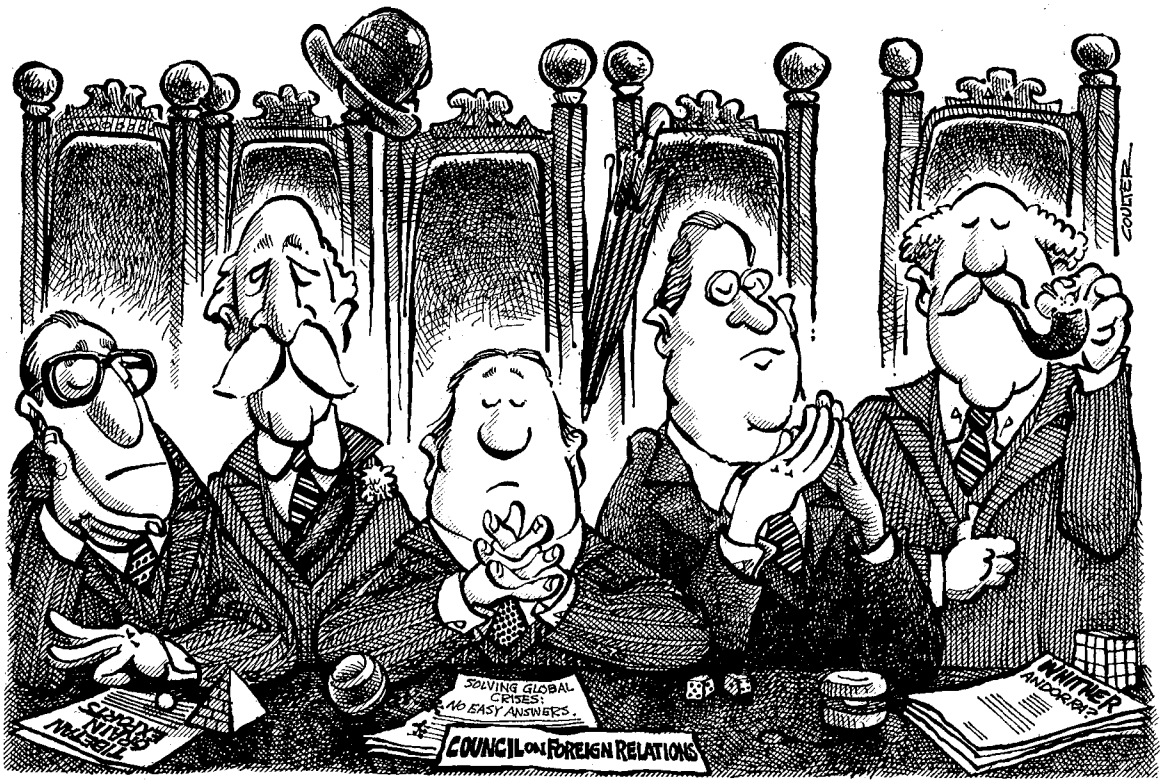

World War I as the instrument for a continuing association with foreign policy of those involved in that unhappy passage. It was meant to manifest the new responsibility of the United States as a power in world, especially European, affairs and to resist in a gentlemanly way the return to the isolationism or indifference of the previous century. Particularly in mind were the isolationist Republicans of the old guard and the new West. From this it extended its interest to relations with Canada, Latin America, and Japan, China, and the Pacific, and to meetings to hear speakers from at home and abroad, and to the publication of the journal *Foreign Affairs.*

In the spring of 1945, the Council moved to its present, handsome and spacious quarters in the Harold Pratt (of Standard Oil) House at 68th and Park Avenue in New York, opposite Hunter College, and facing, as right-wing nuts would discover to their joy, the building that would house, until recently, the Soviet delegation to the United Nations. The membership, all male, continued to include numerous graduates of the foreign policy commune in Washington, along with Columbia and Harvard professors, members of the New York philanthropoid community, general good citizens of means, journalists and lawyers, and bankers and businessmen with a professional or financial interest in foreign affairs. It was an unabashedly elite community, as it so regarded itself, though not, it was suggested, always adequately appreciated by the yet more compelling big business establishment. Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University and a long-time pillar of the Council, complained in the 1940s that "we do not seem to have in this country men who have lasting confidence about the value of work in international affairs. The intellectual process is still a subject of doubt and uncertainty among men of money."

The foregoing quotation is from Robert D. Schulzinger's new book on the Council,* the work of an intelligent and diligent scholar who appears to have read all of the Council publications over the years, an assignment for which, one hopes, he will find due reward in Heaven. He has then grouped the resulting ideas, as some are loosely called, into a chronology—the twenties, the depression years, preparing for World War II, planning for peace and so forth, down to a reflection on the whole field, "The Limits of Expertise."

The usual method of Council study over the

**The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs.* Robert D. Schulzinger. Columbia University Press, $25.

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years was to empanel a group of members with some interest or assumed expertise in the particular subject—relations with Europe, Latin America, Japan and China, Russia, policy toward the defeated axis powers, nuclear weaponry and arms control—and have the whole enterprise guided by a reasonably literate scholar who would work the product into a report or book. Additionally there was a good deal of directly commissioned writing that seems not to have had any seriously inhibiting committee discussion and review. During the World War II years a special enterprise, the War and Peace Studies reports, was prepared for the State Department, to be circulated on a confidential basis. This, had it been known, would have contributed to the charge that the Council was an unofficial arm of the United States government. The author implies that would have been unfair. The reports seem to have said little and to have been little read.

It is Mr. Schulzinger's overall view of this vast outpouring that at all times and on all subjects it got squarely into the middle of the road. This is one way of putting it; I would prefer the point I made earlier that here, as in professional foreign-policy discussion generally, the test of the truth is what the largest number already believe or wish to believe. And, war, cold war, or detente, it is important to be keeping with the government policy of the time.

It was to these tests that the Council work was subject. The rare exception was the participant who wished to advertise the unique vigor of his views, including his bravery in contemplating or advocating comprehensive disaster. In this spirit, on January 12, 1954, at a televised dinner at the Hotel Pierre, John Foster Dulles proclaimed the doctrine of massive, presumably nuclear, retaliation should the Soviets seem to be adventuring anywhere beyond their borders and including, needless to say, any surrogate action by their Chinese puppets, as they were then regarded. (Who could foresee that in a mere 30 years the Chinese would graduate into being, for Republicans, honorary exponents of free enterprise?) And Paul Nitze later advised the members that "even if war were to destroy the world as we know it today, still the U.S. *must win that war decisively*." There can be no enjoyment of a victory like the one achieved after you have been wholly destroyed. (It must be noted that David Rockefeller, long a power in the Council, was moved here to a sharp rebuke.)

But mostly the expression was more cautious —and sensible. And often it was banal. In the war years, Hanson Baldwin addressed for the Council the problems created by the American troops in the English countryside—their higher pay, better food as compared with their British counterparts and neighbors, and their general "cliquishness." His solution, according to Schulzinger, lacked power: it was to supply them with more movies. Some subjects, in the same spirit, were simply avoided. "The most striking thing about Council observations on Vietnam during the most controversial days of the war is how peripheral they were to what went on."

Some 15 or so years ago—the date seems to have disappeared from my records—in one of my recurrently negligible efforts to simplify my life, I resigned from the Council, or perhaps more accurately, I allowed my membership to lapse. In earlier years I had served on a study group or two. Members came to the Harold Pratt House from downtown with no evident reading or other preparation from the previous session and were thus compelled to say again what they had already said before. The meetings of the great foreign visitors, though normally off the record, would not have been printed anyway. I understood their significance only from my service in India; there, in the ceremony called *darshan*, there is a frank appreciation of the support to self-esteem that comes from being in the presence of the great.

Foreign Affairs in those days is described by Mr. Schulzinger as soporific. That I think is wrong; it implies that one read it and was put to sleep. The articles ghostwritten for important people, including numerous heads and high ministers of state in other countries, could not be read by anyone. A typical offering would be one by the foreign minister of Panama called "Panama Looks North and South." By way of variety there would be one by the president of Finland entitled "Finland Looks East and West," or perhaps a less ambitious number by the Canadian minister of external affairs called "Canada Looks South."

There were the usual charges at the time that the Council was having an extracurricular and thus improper influence on the foreign policy of the United States. Had that been true, I would, of course, have remained. The late Frank Altschul, my friend and a longtime pillar of the Council, wrote me to protest my defection. No

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one, with the possible exception of Walter Lippmann, who also resigned (although when seems unclear), had ever left.

In retrospect, and after reading Mr. Schulzinger, I think probably I could have made a mistake. In ensuing years the membership of the Council was enlarged to include younger people and also, after a decorous battle, women. I missed seeing the members of the staff of the Council, George Franklin, William Diebold, and others, excellent scholars and friends. And the writing in *Foreign Affairs*, if still lapsing now and then into high-level stuffiness, has improved. On occasion it and other Council publications attract attention in a highly commendable way, as in the declaration in April 1982 by McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara, and Gerard Smith against the first use of nuclear tactical weapons and more of late that is a step up from the banality and boredom of earlier times or the digressions into assertive bravery of those who spoke for massive retaliation or victory in nuclear death.

Also we now have the Reagan foreign policy. This, with its evil-empire rhetoric, its talk of limited nuclear war and of prevailing in protracted nuclear war, its terrible fixation on our unfortunate small neighbors in Central America, not to mention the military descent on Beirut and Grenada, makes one yearn for the old foreign-policy establishment. Perhaps it did have an instinct for the seemingly safe, non-controversial center, as Mr. Schulzinger says. Better that, we now know, than the fringe. ■

What Caspar Weinberger Could Learn from the Falklands

BY GREGG EASTERBROOK

Don't be put off by the Sergeant Fury-style title of *Air War South Atlantic** This is an exceptional book, one with immediate implications for the U.S. defense budget debate. Ethell and Price, two war historians, have pieced together the story of what really happened in the Falklands by interviewing not high officials in London and Buenos Aires, but nearly every surviving British and Argentine aviator who fought in the war—some 150 officers and enlisted men. While there is a certain amount of "he gunned the throttle, heart pounding..." writing, this is not a war buff's book: the authors see no glory in war, only necessity. The result is a story every U.S. military officer and congressman who is interested in making the military effective, as opposed to making it expensive, should read.

At the onset of the hostilities, Ethell and Price begin by showing, the British military did what successful militaries almost always do at the start of a war—scrap unrealistic arrangements designed to serve budget politics. In early 1941 George Marshall wandered the halls of the War Department, firing paper generals left and right and replacing them with junior officers like Dwight Eisenhower and Albert Wedemeyer, outraging the bureaucracy, but providing himself with a staff of open-minded aides and potential leaders who didn't have a lifetime of turf-protecting to distort their judgments. (By contrast, when the Vietnam war began, Robert McNamara, afraid to challenge the Pentagon hierarchy and enraptured of "expert" status, uncritically let the generals run amok.) Britain's problem in 1982 was an aerial force stringently divided into Navy air-to-air and Air Force air-to-ground planes. Fortunately for British soldiers, the Royal Air Force was willing to surrender institutional control over its fighters, which were quickly modified for dual-role operation from carriers and flown southward to join the fleet.

Once in the Falklands those jets—the vertical takeoff Harriers—dominated aerial combat, even though they were outnumbered three to one. This wasn't supposed to happen. Harriers are small, dumb-looking fighters that can't carry radar-guided missiles and can't fly faster than sound; the U.S. Air Force has been resisting Harrier-type planes for nearly 20 years because they lack the speed, while the Navy has been resisting Harriers because, able to operate from short decks, they undermine the argument for supercarriers. (A few

*Jeffrey Ethell, Alfred Price. Macmillan, $17.95.

Gregg Easterbrook is a staff writer for the Atlantic *and a contributing editor of* The Washington Monthly.

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Harriers are now being purchased for the Marine Corps, at its insistence.)

Yet Harriers so thoroughly routed Argentina's much faster, French-built fighters that, after the early weeks of the war, Buenos Aires put its pilots under orders never to engage British planes: instead they were to flee when one was sighted. Partly this was due to the skill displayed by British pilots; partly it was due to the effectiveness of the Harrier's main weapon, the new "L" version of the Sidewinder heat-seeking missile. Ethell and Price, who at times deflate the British command's exaggerated claims, say the success of the Sidewinder-L was real, crediting it with 19 kills in 23 engagements.

The Sidewinder-L is U.S.-made, and can be fired not only from behind an enemy airplane but from beside it and even (a rare circumstance) directly in front; it is, in concept, exactly the type of high "probability of kill" weapon Pentagon planners spend their days rhapsodizing over. Yet its existence and effectiveness (the Israeli Air Force has also achieved excellent results with the Sidewinder-L version) are seldom mentioned by the Pentagon, especially to Congress. Why? Because the Pentagon prefers radar-guided missiles. Though their combat performance record is dismal (the Israelis rarely even bother to fire them), radar missiles have the requisite technological dazzle. Also, they cost far more than the Sidewinder. In the Reagan administration's fiscal 1985 budget, the Sparrow radar missiles cost $206,000 each, compared to $69,000 for the Sidewinder; a new radar missile called Amraam, which is in the process of flunking its tests, is projected to cost $900,000.

We are also selling the Sidewinder-L to nearly every foreign customer who will sign on the dotted line, an outrageous abdication of that most rare of military commodities, a genuine technological advantage. Heat seeking missiles are hard to design, but easy to manufacture, which is what makes them cheap and also very easy, once the design is set, to duplicate. The Soviet Atol-2 air-to-air missile is an undisguised copy of the Sidewinder-B version. Now, to mollify contractors and support the Air Force's self-delusion that radar-guided missiles are what really count, we are shipping the L version all over the world. How long will it be until one falls into the wrong hands— and U.S. pilots must face a devastating weapon of our own design?

The British operated their Harriers from small aircraft carriers. Secretary of the Navy John Lehman has since often claimed in congressional testimony and op-ed articles that if only the British had had a "real" carrier, capable of launching large planes, it would have made short work of their opponents. This argument ignores the fact that there was a "real" carrier in the Falklands war, and it was useless: the Argentine carrier *25 de Mayo*, built in Great Britain. Early in the conflict Argentina tried to employ the *25 de Mayo* to attack the British fleet, but couldn't. To become airborne many standard carrier planes must be launched into the wind. In the week that British ships arrived near the Falklands there was little wind, which knocked the *25 de Mayo* out of operation. Harriers, on the other hand, because they do not depend on the wind to generate takeoff lift, were able to operate without interruption during the same period; they can also operate in heavy seas, when the deck of a carrier is pitching up and down, because they can hover for an instant before landing. Later, after a British submarine sank Argentina's second-largest ship, the cruiser *General Belgrano*, the country's military dictators became so worried that the equally large and vulnerable *25 de Mayo* would also be sent to the bottom—creating a public-relations disaster which would topple their government—that they withdrew it to port, where it bobbed, unused, for the rest of the conflict.

The insignificance of Argentina's real carrier—and the effectiveness of Britain's small-deck ships, which Lehman has sarcastically and successfully dubbed "Gary Hart carriers"—suggests the battleship paradox: the only thing you can do with a battleship is lose it. Since early in World War II battleships have been nearly irrelevant to naval combat, but have continued to captivate the public's attention. When the German *Bismark* fought the British *Hood*, all eyes focused on the event, suggesting as it did a medieval single combat. The *Bismark* sank the *Hood*, but luckily for the British the *Bismark* was in turn sunk by aircraft shortly afterward; and since the most recent event is the one that sticks in the mind, the British victory coming last seemed more significant.

When Reagan sent the battleship *New Jersey* to Lebanon, he ran the risk of having it sunk to what surely would have been intense public outcry and another round of hand-wringing, "Whither American Might?" commentaries, even though a loss of the *New Jersey* would have had

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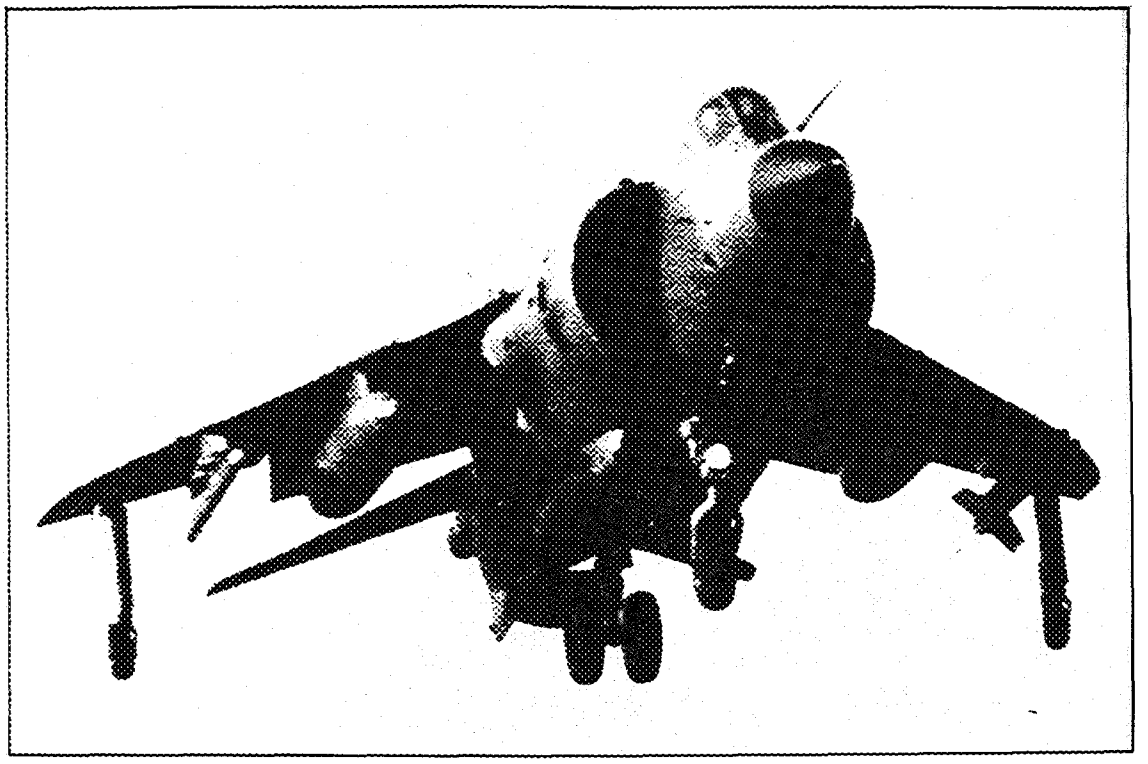

The British Harriers dominated aerial combat in the Falklands war. But the U.S. Air Force has been resisting Harrier-type planes for nearly 20 years because they aren't fast enough. The Navy has resisted them because they take off vertically and thus undermine the argument for supercarriers.

little or no relevance to real U.S. naval power. In short, employing the big ship promised minor gains—there is little indication *New Jersey's* shelling of Lebanese positions altered the tenor of the fighting there—in return for a major risk of a propaganda catastrophe, the same risk Argentina faced with the *25 de Mayo*, and elected not to take.

As regards the Harriers, Ethell and Price also conclude from their interviewing that something that was *supposed* to happen did not. In order to take off vertically the Harrier has an engine nozzle that can be rotated or "vectored"; this, in theory, gives the aircraft an ability to jump sideways while flying, or "vector in forward flight" (VIFF). When Harrier destructions of supposedly more capable aircraft began to add up, reports surfaced that Britain's secret was using VIFF to play a clever trick: deliberately letting Argentine planes come up from behind, then jumping to the side and firing as they passed by. These stories were front-page stuff and recounted enthusiastically in the U.S. press. Yet British pilots, Ethell and Price say, *never once* used VIFF tactics, and actively scorned the idea (for technical reasons which would take too long to recount). Why were VIFF stories so widely played? At the time it seemed like an honest mistake; I know that if I had been covering the Falklands war as it was happening, I would have made many errors. But, there was another factor. VIFF was the only aspect of the slow, dull-looking Harrier that could conceivably be described as "new" or "advanced." Thus it made good copy, especially for a press corps that is for the most part ignorant of military history, one that is anxious to jump on verbal gaffes by Caspar Weinberger or cost overruns documented by the GAO but terrified of challenging basic military assumptions about tactics or weapons—even though the record of recent wars, including World War II, shows that such assumptions can be dangerously wrong.

This blindness is best seen in the "no more Normandys" story that British commanders succeeded in planting. It took nearly a month for the British fleet to reach the Falklands. During that time military sources were saying, and

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reporters faithfully repeating, that there would be no more Normandys: that the invasion would be a lightning helicopter assault right into the midst of Argentine defenses, not an amphibious landing. This notion was so widely proclaimed in the press that Argentine officers began to believe it, and planned their defenses accordingly. Then, when the fleet arrived, it staged a Normandy, bringing troops ashore with landing craft many miles away from the center of Argentine defenses. British commanders, it turned out, had never even toyed with the idea of a direct helicopter assault, which they considered suicidal. This set off a wail of agonizing over the fact that the press had been lied to, which, of course, it had; a firmly justified humanitarian lie that reduced the waste of life on both sides.

But, the other question was begged. Why did reporters *fall for* this lie? Wasn't there anybody in the press corps familiar enough with military reality to know that a helicopter-borne invasion would lead only to slaughter, whereas the most successful amphibious operations—Inchon, Leyte, Normandy in many respects—have employed the "hit 'em where they ain't" strategy of landing away from fortified positions? The day before the invasion I happened to be at a social event where one of *The Washington Post*'s top editors was castigating me for a story I had written detailing the combat record of U.S. helicopters. He suggested that I would soon want to write a retraction because, "You won't believe what these Sea Kings [the main British helicopter] are going to do. They're absolutely awesome. It'll be strictly a helicopter invasion."

Like VIFF, the helicopter invasion story seemed to capture the fancy of reporters because it was the most "sophisticated" tactic the British might have employed. Yet the actual use of British helicopters drew little press attention. U.S. doctrine calls for helicopters to fly directly into combat, exposing themselves to enemy guns. Ethell and Price report that the British never took their helicopters into battle, reserving them instead for behind-the-lines transportation of men and equipment, a role in which they served admirably. In aerial action Britain lost only ten of the 172 helicopters it took to the Falklands, despite flying many of them almost constantly for more than a month in the bad weather that followed the first week's calm. Compare this with the Pentagon's loss of nine helicopters in just four days' fighting in Grenada.

Also captivating of the press was the Exocet missile, which sank two British ships—another high-technology, holy-cow story. Overlooked was the more revealing news that four more British vessels—three of them new air-defense warships loaded with the latest, most expensive, radar-guided weapons—had been sunk by regular old "dumb" bombs, dropped by aircraft passing directly over their decks. Ethell and Price say that the actual picture was far more drastic: 75 percent of the Argentine bombs that struck British ships failed to detonate, according to their count. The frigate *H.M.S. Plymouth*, during a single raid, was struck by four, 1,000-pound bombs, any one of which could have sunk her but none of which exploded. Had all these bombs—or even half of them—gone off, the fleet would have been forced to withdraw, and Britain would have "lost."

Yet the inability of Britain's high-tech antiaircraft ships to deal with small numbers of planes dropping old-fashioned bombs (the radar systems, Ethell and Price note, had a tendency to "hiccup" when the pressure was on, and since the official theory held that these systems were infallible, there were few guns to back them up)

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has not been a story in the U.S. press. Neither has the fact that the U.S. Navy's new $55 billion antiaircraft ship project, Aegis, uses devices and principles very similar to those that failed to distinguish themselves in the Falklands. In May, after the first Aegis cruiser was able, in a carefully controlled test, to shoot down ten of 11 drone missiles, *The Washington Post* billed the story as "Navy Smoothing Wrinkles Out of Air Shield." The *Post*'s story did not mention that most of the drones had been destroyed in individual engagements, not in saturation attacks, which are the standard of naval warfare and what British radar ships faced in the Falklands.

Ethell and Price have pieced together the Falklands story by interviewing not high officials in London and Buenos Aires but nearly every surviving British and Argentine aviator who fought in the war.

So far there has been no book that does for Grenada what *Air War South Atlantic* does for the Falklands. This is due, in some degree, to an unfortunate byproduct of British press manipulation; emboldened by London's lying to the media, the Pentagon gained enough courage to bar U.S. reporters from the Grenada mission. This time, however, it was done for the wrong reasons. Instead of hoping to save lives, the Pentagon's goal was to make sure no cameras and notebooks were around to record any bungling or especially the pandemonium that prevailed because of the lack of interservice coordination.

At one point during Grenada, for example, some Army soldiers were pinned down on a city street; the squad leader found a pay phone with which he placed a credit-card call to his superiors at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, who then called the Air Force, which brought in planes to assist. This anecdote was told to a press conference by Air Force General David Nichols, who cited it as proof of the majesty of the long-distance satellite communications between North Carolina and Grenada, and it was reported as such. What kind of system is it that provides no means for an Army officer in trouble to talk directly to the Air Force? In which colonels and generals behind the scenes serve as glorified clerks, routing messages?

Like the Iran raid—where Marine helicopters flew from Navy ships to meet Army troops in Air Force planes—in Grenada the Air Force, Navy, Marines, and Army all had roles, as did most of the factions within the services. And the result, again lightly reported (under the present pact of journalistic standards reporters can be as nasty as they want about any event being painted as an official "failure," but you can't knock success) was in several important aspects disturbing.

For example, in Grenada the U.S. employed overwhelming force both in numbers and in quality. We not only enjoyed a seven-to-one advantage in troop strength, but pitted our very best units—Marines, Rangers, Seals—against Cuban irregulars, who until shortly before the fight had been laying concrete. The U.S. had an overwhelming advantage in firepower, with naval guns and some armor versus no artillery and no armor; in air power we had absolute superiority, there being not a single enemy plane in the air. (Cuban troops also had only simple antiaircraft weapons; no SAM missiles and no large-caliber cannons.) U.S. Army commanders insisted on carrying out their phases of the operation with the most complicated, expensive means possible—helicopter assaults and paratroop drops. It was the Marines, operating in smaller numbers with simpler tactics, who secured most of the island. Indeed, the fact that Weinberger allowed himself to be bullied into letting nearly every Pentagon interest group grab a share of the Grenada action calls into question whether he has any grasp of the military he supposedly runs. Weinberger sent the Marines, who have a poor record of defending stationary positions and an excellent record of capturing enemy territory, to Beirut to defend a stationary position; he then sent the Army to Grenada to stage an amphibious assault. Doesn't he know the difference between the Army and the Marines?

The showing of U.S. helicopters was another case in point. Not only did we lose as many helicopters in four days of clear-weather flying against a lightly armed foe as Britain lost in a month under severe conditions—because Army commanders insisted on flying the helicopters into active battle, the same tactic that failed so miserably in Vietnam—but many of the aircraft knocked down were UH60 Blackhawks, the Army's newest, most expensive helicopter at the time and one that was supposedly designed with the record of Vietnam in mind. The Army didn't even seem to learn from short-term experience.

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At one point, its elite Delta commando force was sent against Richmond Hill prison using the standard made-for-TV-movie tactic of flying up to it in a helicopter in broad daylight; the aircraft was driven away by small arms fire. The following day, according to a report released by the Congressional Military Reform Caucus, another Delta helicopter was back with exactly the same tactic, and again it was driven off.

The present United States military learns from theory, but not from practice. The Pentagon has ignored many of the lessons of its own Vietnam war, has ignored the lessons of Israel's wars using Pentagon equipment, and now seems intent on ignoring the lessons of the Falklands. Its F-16 fighter, which was designed around the Sidewinder missile, is in the process of being converted to mount Amraam. The Air Force's Advanced Tactical Fighter, which is likely to be its next multi-billion dollar acquisition, includes in its early stages—can't you guess?—the ability to VIFF. If only Ethell and Price would turn their talents to the U.S. military, asking lower-level soldiers what is actually happening, as opposed to what Pentagon press kits say is happening; and if only someone on Capitol Hill, where committees fund now and ask questions later, would listen. ■

Too Much Technology, Not Enough Soul

BY MICKEY KAUS

To: Neoliberal Revolutionary Council
Central Committee
Re: Comrade Rothenberg

Our staff ideologists have now completed their analysis of Comrade Rothenberg's book, The Neoliberals.* *You will remember Rothenberg from his 1982 cover story on our movement in the bourgeois publication,* Esquire. *Aside from certain deviationist tendencies (see dossier, attached), that article was lively and sympathetic, and well received among the masses.*

Now Rothenberg has expanded his article into a book that says many other nice things about us, in particular about The Washington Monthly. *The cover predicts we are "marching to power." (Does Rothenberg know something we don't?) This is the most thorough treatment of our movement to date, and of course should be required reading for every concerned American.*

But, just between us, comrades, let us admit the truth: this is not a very good book. When Comrade Peters, in a publicity blurb, calls it "timely and important," he uses most of the positive adjectives that can in good conscience be applied to Rothenberg's work. We recommend that firm steps be taken to instruct the masses on Comrade Rothenberg's mistakes. A show trial would be too obvious. But we have other ways. . . .

Alright, I admit, I'm jealous of Randall Rothenberg. I wanted to write this book, but I didn't and Rothenberg, to his credit, did. To this natural professional rivalry must be added a modest disappointment at the lack of attention devoted to certain lesser-known proponents of neoliberalism. (Only *two* index citations—two! I mean *really,* Randy. And you gave Mort Kondracke five!) Still, I like to think that the nobler half of me wishes Rothenberg's book were as successful as his *Esquire* article that put neoliberalism on the map. It isn't.

I can see the New York editors now, telling Rothenberg what they told me: the book must have a clear "focus," a distinct cast of personalities, and must be done in time for the Democratic convention. *The Neoliberals* meets all three requirements, but at a high price. It seems hurriedly thrown together, not in the proofreading sense but in the idea sense. It needs another run through the typewriter, and also another run through the brain.

For those of us who think neoliberalism is a potentially rich alternative to the standard ideologies of left and right, Rothenberg's choice

**The Neoliberals: Creating the New American Politics.* Randall Rothenberg. Simon & Schuster, $16.95.

Mickey Kaus is a contributing editor of The Washington Monthly.

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of the economy as his "focus" is a disappointment. To hear him tell it, most neoliberals are basically regular old liberals with some trendy new high-tech programs for encouraging growth. They crave "social justice" as much as the next liberal, but they realize it can be financed only out of an expanded economic pie. There's no dispute over ends, only means—or maybe only the means to achieve the means, to bake the pie that feeds liberal good intentions. Apart from chapters on military reform and national service, *The Neoliberals* is devoted entirely to various pie-baking recipes—industrial policy, retraining, flat-taxes, consumption taxes. You know the list.

Unfortunately, while most of these ideas are worthy, they are also the reason why many commentators have accused neoliberalism of being "bloodless." It would take an extremely gifted writer to render entertaining politicians (in this case Rep. Richard Gephardt) whose stated goal is to "manage the transition" to a "post-industrial. . . human capital intensive" economy. Rothenberg tries manfully to jazz up the proceedings, but he brings to bear only the most lame magazine writer's devices, especially the one that grabs readers' attention by taking an ordinary mundane event and hyping it into a pivotal world-historic epiphany. ("On January 19, 1977, the 'era of limits' ended"; "[n]ineteen seventy-one was the year the world economic system collapsed.") Nor, when it comes to economics, do Rothenberg's explanatory powers present any threat to Paul Samuelson. (Sample: "The yen seeps out of Japan, seeking dollars, bidding up the price of the dollar and further weakening the yen. . . .")

Rothenberg has an unerring ear for the lame anecdote and the quote that confounds instead of clarifies. "Are social issues secondary?" muses Senator Bill Bradley at one crucial moment. "They are not secondary to the structure of the economy. But social issues *are* secondary, I think, to the health of the economy." Hmmm. Maybe I'll get up and get a beer and think that one over.

Rothenberg's chapter on "industrial policy," like much writing on that subject, is suspiciously abstract when discussing how much the government would intervene in the marketplace, leaving the reader with the sense that something has been slipped past him. Neoliberals, according to Rothenberg, want to help "older industries that are losing competitiveness" to die gracefully. But a second category of industries "retain potential competitive viability" and the government would offer them infusions of capital in a "coherent revitalization strategy." Rothenberg concludes, "Nowhere is there a sign of the fearful 'picking winners and losers' syndrome." But wait a minute. Who decides which industries fall into which category—some to be phased out and others to get loans? Sounds like winner-picking to me.

One function of a book like this, presumably, is to take ideas that are seemingly unconnected and find connections even those who call themselves neoliberals might not have seen. Rothenberg effectively analogizes the "lean and flexible" defense desired by military reformers such as Gary Hart and Colonel John Boyd with the flexible, entrepreneurial economy envisioned by Hart and Robert Reich—a theme that Hart, for one, has yet to discover. But this promising line of thought is tossed off as an aside. Instead, Rothenberg repeatedly imposes themes on his material that are dry, technical, and only half right.

The three neoliberal economic "principles" he comes up with—investment, "appropriate technology," and cooperation—certainly are not exactly calculated to whip the reader into a fren-

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zy. In particular, "appropriate technology" is a cover for much confusion, as you might expect. Rothenberg lists "centralization" as one of the New Deal tenets that the neos, with their affection for small, entrepreneurial organizations, are rebelling against. But a few pages later he says the "neoliberalism of the 1980s harkens back to TR's New Nationalism," and quotes approvingly from TR's 1912 acceptance speech: "Concentration and cooperation in industry in order to secure efficiency are a worldwide movement. The United States cannot resist it." Decentralization, concentration, competition, cooperation—oh, well, you know, whatever's "appropriate." It's particularly silly that Rothenberg backs himself into this corner because by the end of the book he has hit on what I think is the correct and important neoliberal contribution: "The neoliberals not only affirm the place of competition in our economy, but further assert that only by creating a cooperative context for the economy will people feel secure enough to take wealth-producing risks."

Rothenberg also makes much of a supposed shift from liberal "macro" fiscal policies to neolib "micro" policies that focus on individual firms, and then talks about neoliberals' "faith in the market." But it is precisely because neoliberals *don't* have faith in the market to automatically produce the most efficient firms that they have developed their critique of managerial short-termism, and their distinction between productive pie-expanding activities, like designing better production lines, and equally lucrative but not-so-productive activities like advising conglomerates how to shuffle their assets through mergers. These neoliberal arguments recognize that culture—in particular, the culture of corporate and government bureaucracies—affects an economy in ways that can't be explained by free-market theory. But in Rothenberg's hands, the down-to-earth fear of bureaucratic self-interest gets reinterpreted as a muddled critique of "systems analysis," just as fear of being driven out of business by the Japanese becomes an awareness of "The Global Unit." John Naisbett, watch out!

Rothenberg's awe of high-tech reflects the view of many neoliberals—they (and he) are always talking about "the industrial paradigm" changing into the "post-industrial" something-or-other. And there's certainly a good argument that the more rapidly changing, innovative, and risky an industry is, the bigger the role the government must play training people for their jobs (sorry, I mean implementing a "human capital policy"), if only because employees don't stay with one firm long enough to make it worthwhile for the firm to pay for the training itself.

But much of the neoliberal critique of industry applies equally to low-tech and high-tech. Auto plants need investment and training, too, after all—and if their managers had been a little less concerned with their quarterly profits, and if their unions hadn't won automatic raises unmatched by productivity gains and negotiated work rules that blocked the introduction of more efficient methods, we might today be hailing the new, high-tech auto industry instead of bailing it out and boasting of our growing service sector.

Randall Rothenberg's The Neoliberals is well-focused and presents a distinct cast of personalities, but his vision of neoliberalism is bloodless.

Some neoliberal solutions are old-fashioned, too. In his chapter on "human capital," Rothenberg doesn't mention anything as low-tech as firing incompetent grade-school teachers. But he makes a fuss about something called Microelectronics Innovation and Computer Research Opportunities (MICRO), a "nine-person tripartite committee" that former California Governor Jerry Brown set up to administer a $1 million (not billion, million) fund for basic research in microelectronics. This suggests a failure of perspective. I wish Rothenberg had stepped back a bit and tried to figure out how much of neoliberalism has to do with silicon chips and how much has to do with old liberal institutions, such as unions, that might have become obstacles to prosperity even if Dr. Shockley had never invented the transistor.

The Neoliberals' low point is the chapter on international trade. Rothenberg says neoliberals "defend the free trade status quo," but the only alleged neoliberal trotted out to take this position is former Special Trade Representative Reubin Askew. In fact, for most neoliberals, trade is a far more complicated subject. One important free-trade tenet, for example, is the theory of "comparative advantage," which holds that each nation will prosper by producing what it produces best—given its natural resources, etc.—

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and trading for the rest. As nations become richer and more skilled, they drop their unskilled jobs and move up the ladder of industrialization in a sort of natural evolutionary process. But neoliberal "human capital" theory recognizes that (unlike natural resources) a nation's level of education and training (its "human capital") can be changed by government. So there is no "natural" thing that any nation does best. Nations can give themselves a "comparative advantage," an artifical boost up the ladder of industrialization and prosperity, if they are the first to develop the skills that are needed for more advanced forms of production. The result is less a natural evolution than a mad scramble to build up technological skills, in which it might make eminent sense to protect and subsidize crucial domestic industries even if competitors can temporarily do it cheaper. Even Gary Hart, for all his free trade talk and attacks on Mondalean "protectionism," suggests that we use trade barriers to protect domestic industries while they are being modernized.

The trade chapter ends with an anecdote that is all too typical of *The Neoliberals*, a dramatic rendering of Hart's High Technology Trade Act of 1982. It seems the semiconductor industry, locked out of foreign markets, wanted Congress to retaliate by threatening to close off our markets to countries that did not offer us "reciprocity." Rothenberg breathlessly describes how ("sounding the postindustrial clarion call") Hart and an aide "moved in at that point, drawing up their own legislation, using the [semiconductor industry's] framework, but slashing through it and substituting 'free trade' for 'reciprocity' wherever the word appeared." What exactly Hart's switch of buzzwords accomplished we are never told. No wonder they sneer at neoliberalism over at *The Nation.*

Rothenberg does a bit of sneering as well. He notes that "*The Washington Monthly* for years has stressed the line, 'The unions are killing our schools.' " But he dismisses this complaint summarily, saying, "The teachers unions do not set policy or establish curricula." If Rothenberg thinks that unfireable bureaucrats and their unions have no influence because they don't formally "set policy," then he couldn't have been as avid a reader of this magazine as he seems.

After his strenuous efforts to build up neoliberalism's importance, these tossed-off criticisms seem inadequate. Rothenberg knows, for example, that neoliberals, like paleoliberals, believe government must regulate private industry where necessary to protect health, safety, or the environment. But in his last chapter, he remarks, almost in passing, that "the neoliberal's warm-hearted view of business is naive in the face of the greed of the corporate interests." Oh, by the way, you know that great new movement I've been telling you about for 246 pages? Well, never mind!

Lenin never would have tolerated such ideological infidelity, and I don't see why we neolibs should have to either. Rothenberg probably doesn't claim to be a card-carrying party member, which is fine, but to some extent his lack of empathy for the movement has produced a stunted characterization, which isn't. He accurately reports the central neoliberal charge that "the interests of some groups within the [New Deal] coalition no longer coincide with the national interest." But he offers few examples to back this up (apart from pointing out that there aren't very many unions in the entrepreneurial high-tech sector) and little sense that the neolibs might have arrived at their position out of genuine anger, as opposed to sober reflection from a seminar room at the Kennedy School or a hot tub in Silicon Valley.

The Nursing Father

MOSES AS A POLITICAL LEADER

Aaron Wildavsky

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What are neoliberals angry about? Well, they are angry that the biggest obstacles to the revived WPA-style work program that could do the most to help the poor are now the construction and municipal unions who most righteously invoke the memory of FDR. They are angry when the dueling bureaucracies of the Pentagon give us mindless defense budgets, arm American soldiers with rifles that jam, and leave them dead in botched missions in Iran and Beirut. They are angry when the knobs fall off their new Chevrolet—when corporate myopia lets the Japanese grab our markets and jobs. They are angry when government can no longer afford to construct subways, libraries, roads, or public housing because traditional liberals protect a law called the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires the government to pay inflated wages anytime it builds anything. They are angry when lawyers for women's groups, in pursuit of sexual equality, would cement in place credentialized inequality by having judges step in to decide what each job in the economy is "worth." They are angry when the government must scrimp on Social Security checks for destitute retirees because wealthy retirees demand an equal "entitlement."

What's missing from Rothenberg's account, in short, is any strong sense of the neoliberal values that might animate a new ideology. Admittedly, this is a failing shared by many of Rothenberg's subjects—particularly the Wirth-Hart-Tsongas high-tech crowd—who are more comfortable focusing on means rather than ends, who indeed describe their political stance by making the means/ends distinction (Hart: "What is changing is not principles, goals, aspirations, or ideals, but methods"). They will endlessly refine the techniques for achieving economic growth in "the world of the eighties" while assuming, without much discussion, that this growth will in turn buy that traditional liberal thing called "social justice." It's this failure to aggressively define ends that allows neoliberal-baiters like *The New Republic*'s Bob Kuttner to dismiss the movement as "a swamp of ambiguous moderation, managerialism, generational politics, and futurology."

What do neoliberals want society to look like? Were they to ask themselves this question, I think they would discover that their values, their ends, are *not* the same as traditional liberal values. Sure, neoliberals share the warm, old-time liberal intentions that are usually phrased ringingly yet vaguely as "helping the helpless," or "unlocking the locked out," "giving everybody an equal chance"—what Rothenberg sums up as a "concern for the lower classes and for equity considerations in general." But those sentiments don't add up to a social vision. What are the "locked out" to be let into? Conventional liberal rhetoric is filled with an impulse to "redistribute" income in a "progressive" direction—but there is no impulse that tells us when the redistribution stops. Most liberals accept capitalism as the engine of economic growth, but it is often an uneasy peace. They want "more equality," "more compassion," or, as Samuel Gompers would put it, just "more." For those who think income distribution always should be made more equal, that the impact of luck and fate on individual destiny should be eliminated, politics must seem like a Sisyphean struggle to stamp out all of capitalism's side effects.

No wonder that, in place of a more concrete idea of a just society, many liberals came to substitute an allegiance to the specific mechanisms they had devised to counteract the excesses of laissez-faire. "Social justice" came to mean whatever unions could extract at the bargaining table, whatever housing HUD was putting up, whatever the EEOC was suing for, whatever Social Security and unemployment compensation were paying.

Neoliberals, having questioned many of these mechanisms, are forced now to confront anew the

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basic value questions left unanswered by New Deal liberals. When they stop ducking this obligation, I think they will have at least two good responses.

First, instead of tolerating capitalism, neoliberalism champions its positive virtues—risk-taking, creativity, and the excitement of change and accomplishment. FDR may have tried to corner the ice market in his early years, but his political legatees have enshrined the values of the bureaucrat rather than the values of the entrepreneur. Where New Deal Democracy has come to mean being taken care of by large paternalistic organizations, in accordance with permanent credentials, neoliberals value the freedom of each individual to try and fail—not just because the "industrial paradigm" has changed, or

Rothenberg misses neoliberalism's potential for harmony, not contradiction, in the simultaneous pursuit of capitalism and community.

because it is the best way to achieve high-tech growth, but because it is a positive good in itself. Entrepreneurship (including collective forms like profit-sharing and worker-ownership) builds a strong GNP 12 ways, but it is also fun, an activity that satisfies the basic human urge to dream and build.

Second, instead of trying to muffle the material inequalities generated by the marketplace, neoliberals would restrict the world in which those inequalities matter. They would carve out a communitarian sphere where class distinctions are dissolved, where the principle of equal dignity in citizenship prevails, where it is recognized that money is, after all, only money. The idea of national service and the neoliberal insistence on saving the public schools should be seen as attempts not just to help out the economy but to preserve a community life where a kid from the ghetto and a kid from Beverly Hills meet as equals.

Rothenberg says neoliberals have weakened the liberal commitment to redistribution. I would put it differently: neoliberals can give redistribution a clear, coherent, and self-limiting purpose, which is to provide that minimum level of material well-being necessary to prevent economic misery from destroying community dignity. That is why this magazine endorses a guaranteed job for those who can work and a decent guaranteed income for those who cannot. But once this has been done (and once we've eliminated all the phony inequality represented by the lawyers, grant-hustlers, asset-rearrangers, cost-overruners, tax-shelterers, and other pie-slicers who enjoy affluent lifestyles without making a commensurate contribution to social health or wealth), redistribution need not continue to be an end in itself. Rather, as Michael Kinsley has said, "We want a society where heights are available to climb and also to fall from." This means neoliberals cast a skeptical eye at the elaborate middle-class subsidies—like unemployment compensation, the Davis Bacon Act, the civil service system, or labor contracts requiring automatic wage increaes—that conventional liberals have built up as a means to protect the nonpoor from risk.

Neoliberals see a potential for harmony, not contradiction—for synergy, not just balance—in the simultaneous pursuit of capitalism and community. We argue that only in a community where everyone is guaranteed his dignity will people be willing to risk everything else. Only a community that devalues money can fully value entrepreneurship. Only a community based on equality can accomodate material inequality. Until neoliberals declare and elaborate on their own distinctive values, they will get more accounts like Rothenberg's, portraying them as high-tech Chamber of Commerce types who care only about economic growth, who differ from Reaganites mainly because they are more sophisticated in recognizing the need for government action to sustain that growth.

The tragedy of *The Neoliberals* is that Rothenberg clearly knows what's missing from his own portrait. He expresses uneasiness with the "old ends/new means" definition of neoliberalism before finally adopting it himself. He criticizes neoliberal politicians for coming "across as technocrats." In his closing chapters he talks about national service and "neoliberalism's communitarian theme." In context, these are only glimpses of a road not taken, indications that Rothenberg could have produced a much better book than this if he hadn't been rushed by the need to be first. He was first, and I'm still jealous. But he got only half the story. I hope the other half gets written before the *next* Democratic convention. ■

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POLITICAL BOOKNOTES

The Quality of Mercy: Cambodia, Holocaust and Modern Conscience. William Shawcross. *Simon & Schuster, $19.95.* Even if it did nothing more than pose the questions outlined in its first short chapters, *The Quality of Mercy* would be one of this year's most important and challenging political books.

At first blush, William Shawcross's subject seems narrowly bureaucratic, a mere footnote to the history of Indochina in the second half of the 20th century. He tells the story of the international relief organizations that sought to restore some kind of normality to Cambodia after the fall of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge government in January 1979. He limits his account to what happened to Cambodians, hardly touching on the Vietnamese boat people, who enjoyed considerably more international attention at the time, and much of the book is given over to descriptions of organizational infighting and logistical detail. Just beneath the surface, however, lies a much bigger story—a deeply troubling picture of the moral and political paradoxes that threaten to undermine a foreign policy based on human rights and humanitarian concern.

How can the civilized world respond to large-scale international disasters on the order of the holocaust and the threatened devastation of the Cambodian people? How can we even begin to understand these tragedies—let alone do something to alleviate them? What is the moral obligation of the international community in the face of these and lesser human rights violations? What do we do, for example, when the government of a country refuses or obstructs our aid? And should we be willing to provide humanitarian assistance even when it strengthens governments we don't like?

William Shawcross doesn't answer all of these questions. He begins quite simply with an account of his own first trip back to Cambodia after the Vietnamese invasion that ousted the Khmer Rouge. He was among the first foreign journalists to visit the country after the Khmer Rouge took over in 1975—among the first to bring back stories of the unnerving, empty streets, the emaciated children, the "hospitals" without medicine, and the mass graves with their heaps of gaping skulls. This is merely the backdrop—in effect, the prologue—to Shawcross's depressing tale, but this quiet, telling account of his travels is one of the most effective parts of the book.

The story itself begins several years earlier with the West's painful failure to take account of what was happening inside Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. Accounts of forced labor and village massacres began to trickle out of the country in early 1977, but they did not gain what Shawcross calls "critical mass"—significant worldwide attention—until the Vietnamese invasion some two years later. Why did it take so long? Why didn't we protest what the Khmer Rouge were doing to disrupt Cambodia's economy and devastate its people when there was still time to stop it?

The answer is largely political. People find it hard to comprehend that kind of wanton killing and destruction, and in Indochina in particular many Americans didn't want to hear about the aftermath of our involvement. Leftist journalists and others from the antiwar movement bear a special responsibility—and critical as he was of the war, Shawcross does not hesitate to point this out. In their skepticism of Washington's claims that our pullout would lead to a bloodbath, many discounted the evidence coming out of Cambodia as so much anticommunist propaganda.

By the time the tale is done, however, neither right nor left—neither the West nor the Soviet bloc, neither communist Vietnam nor our ally Thailand—come out looking very good. Inside Cambodia, the blame falls heavily on the Vietnamese occupiers: they initially requested Western aid for Cambodia, but delayed the program for several months and then insisted on distributing the rice themselves, often using it to consolidate their own political power. Outside, both in Thailand and on the Thai-Cambodian border, the Thai military government bears the brunt of Shawcross's criticism—mainly for its forced repatriation of Cambodian refugees and for the way it allowed food to be diverted to Khmer Rouge fighters, thus encouraging them to regroup as an exile army on the Cambodian border.

China is criticized for supporting the Thai policy, while the Soviet Union and its third world allies are blamed for obstructing United Nations' relief efforts. As for the United States, our embassy in Thailand is given some credit for encouraging the aid effort, but Washington too is heavily faulted for allowing the reconstruction of the Khmer Rouge.

Shawcross tends to be slightly more sympathetic toward the international relief workers caught in the middle—wrangling with the Vietnamese and the Thai military even as their counterparts at home were cajoling western countries to contribute more and trying desperately to convince them that the aid was being put to good use. But the aid organizations also come in for a fair share of criticism—for their often dilatory and bureaucratic operations, their petty rivalries, their failure to understand the Cambodians' needs and their inability to recognize their own

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mistakes. Shawcross admits that he was among those who overestimated the threat of famine facing Cambodia in 1979, and he wonders pointedly why no aid officials have publicly admitted their miscalculation—despite the question such a mistake raises about their credibility and susceptibility to political manipulation.

Shawcross calls the whole seamy story a "diplomatic danse macabre"—and indeed the grim burden of his book is that politics will always play a part in international relief efforts, usually for the worse. His account of the endless squabbling and jockeying and self-serving "generosity" that went into the Cambodian aid program is often confusing, overrun with faceless aid officials and mired in detail. Yet the story itself has a kind of stark clarity—the weight and resonance of a simple moral tale. Listen, for example, to Cambodian Foreign Minister Hun Sen, who told an aid official that "our people would rather eat grass and die than to share aid with Pol Pot"—this, Shawcross reports, at a time when many children taking part in one feeding program were still too weak to hold their mugs and bowls.

The Quality of Mercy is a distressing book. It is also at times—because of the scope of the questions it raises—exhilarating. And yet, in the end, there is something disappointingly vague about the quality of its moral judgments. Shawcross is clearly appalled by the cynical politicking he discovered in Cambodia, but he makes sadly little effort to think through the issues it raises—to think how relief officials and concerned policy makers might navigate the political minefields he describes. What, for example, would he have done if he were in charge of the operation on the Thai border? How would he have handled the inevitable political pressures from Bangkok and Washington, from the Khmer Rouge warlords in the border camps and the Thai generals determined to help them? Surely he would not have discontinued the feeding program, even if much of the rice were diverted to the Khmer Rouge?

Shawcross notes the "quandaries" and "paradoxes"that surround such decisions, and he mentions in passing the possibility of interning the Khmer Rouge fighters or taking their weapons away. But both of these measures seem highly implausible under the circumstances, and here as elsewhere Shawcross never quite seems to come to grips with the dilemma he outlines. One waits in vain his relative ethical judgments—the beginning, at least, of a practical moral calculus to help guide other humanitarians caught between the grim imperatives of their inescapably political calling.

Shawcross has, nevertheless, made an important start merely by charting the territory. The humanitarian impulse he describes—the concern for other peoples' human rights and the sense of international responsibility—is a relatively new force in world politics, a product of modern communications and the horror of World War II. Shawcross himself, and most of his readers, take that moral impulse for granted. What he discovers, by the end of his book, is just how new, and how frail, it is. With this, he opens the way for others to think about finding a realistic place for it in the world of power politics.

—Tamar Jacoby

Humphrey. Carl Solberg. *Norton, $19.95*. This biography of the other Minnesota Democrat who became senator and vice-president and then sought the presidency arrives at a propitious moment. Unfortunately, despite much original research, Solberg does little more than round out what we already know about Hubert Humphrey; no radical reinterpretations here. The book is also marred by some needless inaccuracies. (For example, Mondale never studied in the classroom under Humphrey, as Solberg says he did.) Still, Solberg provides us with an opportunity to assess this year's presidential nominee in comparison to his predecessor.

The contrast between Mondale's debut in the Senate and Humphrey's is telling. In 1949 Humphrey barged in aflame with passion and indignation at an institution arrogantly impervious to social injustice and seemingly responsive only to the tribal loyalties of its own old-boy network. Humphrey was systematically humiliated by his peers in those years, but, over time, both the man and the institution bent. The Senate that passed the 1964 Civil Rights Law—perhaps the most glittering of Humphrey's many legislative achievements—was a far suppler legislative body than the one that greeted Humphrey as a pariah 16 years earlier.

By contrast, Mondale's arrival in the Senate in 1965 caused nary a ripple—and his departure a dozen years later hardly more so. Mondale's Senate career does not lack accomplishments—the 1968 Open Housing Law, a landmark reform of the Senate filibuster rule, campaign finance reform, a gutsy and effective defense of school busing are among them. But those achievements were wrought by Mondale's application of his political brokering skills within the Senate. In building consensus he rarely caused loud public echoes.

Mondale indeed often shied away from battles that Humphrey arguably would have joined. For example, as Robert Kennedy's successor to the chairmanship of the Senate Migratory Labor Subcommittee, Mondale compiled a devastating documentation of the systematic exploitation and dehumanization of migratory work by large growers. There is plenty of anecdotal evidence that Mondale was personally outraged by his findings. But because the migrants were powerless (and the growers a part of the all-powerful farm lobby), there was no feasible legislative remedy short of a high-risk crusade to raise the public consciousness. Mondale chose not to make that effort and dropped the matter with a half-hearted attempt to pass a few tepid reforms.

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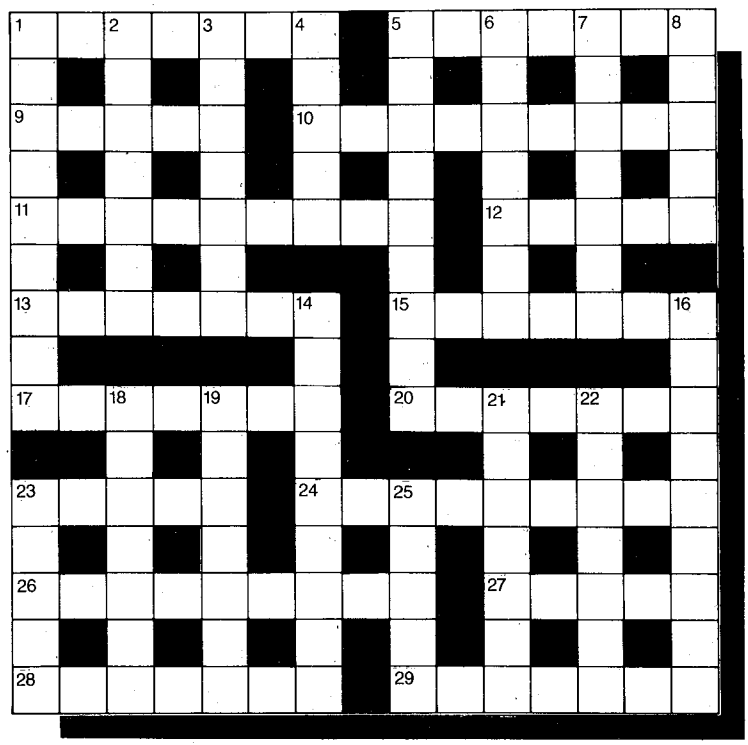
POLITICAL PUZZLE

by John Barclay

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2, 3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word.



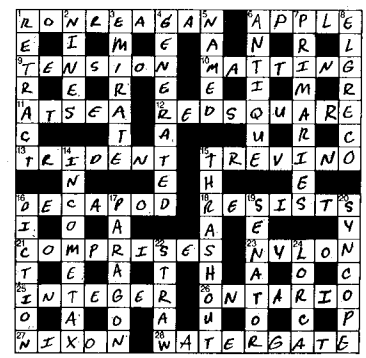
ACROSS

1 & 5. 1984 team assembled for rare lemon ad. (7-7)
9. Where witches were, strangely, males. (5)
10. Bringing up excellent ticket particle. (9)
11. Selected into named confusion. (9)
12. Somehow deter trapped prey. (5)
13. To argue violently is a disgrace. (7)
15. Reagan elected means trouble for him? (2, 5)
17. Free crazy maim nut. (7)
20. Performer Jackie in jungle as only he can be. (7)
23. Urge North to reject? (5)
24. Something ordinary about tiny moral. (9)
26. Circle around flipping heart is unusual. (4, 5)
27. Foreign commerce in extra detail. (5)
28 & 29. Kennedy-Johnson and Nixon-Agnew, for example. (7, 7)

DOWN

1. Tell lies about Simon firm. (9)
2. Mint oil extravagantly for high-stakes poker game. (2, 5)
3. Cleaning agent is wild mania in Missouri. (7)
4. Choice from among delectables. (5)
5. Abandoned child catches you in petting. (9)
6. Responded to play part in grass. (7)
7. Tile man organized food. (7)
8. Possessed madly down East. (5)
14. Enlarging former care? (9)
16. Fertilizers with hives? (9)
18. One turn breaks up atomic particle. (7)
19. Composer produces tin tome. (7)
21. Rubber band of Castile manufacture. (7)
22. Wise man takes in fuel for fodder. (7)
23. Kind of vote shows blemishes coming up. (5)
25. Reagan's side is correct? (5)

Answers to last month's puzzle:



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On the other hand, Mondale has skillfully avoided the pitfalls of the vice-presidency that proved so destructive to Humphrey's career. Mondale remained loyal to Carter, but not blindly so—witness the alacrity with which he confessed to having privately opposed the Carter grain embargo. Humphrey, on the other hand, may have lost the White House because he insisted on staying mum about a far more consequential issue: his early opposition within the National Security Council to LBJ's initial bombing raids over North Vietnam.

It is true, of course, that both Humphrey and Mondale supported the war during the Johnson years. Memories of their early battles with Popular Front radicals for control of the Minnesota DFL guaranteed that. But by 1968, Mondale saw the U.S. was bound to lose and did not hesitate to put distance between himself and the war. He may have been tardy, but it still was a step Humphrey never could quite bring himself to take.

Considering the sound and fury of his own career, it is no wonder that Humphrey looked with cheerful amazement on his friend's charmed life. Where he led, accumulating enough wounds to qualify as the Scarface of American politics, Mondale followed, with apparent effortlessness. Perhaps if their strengths could be combined to form a composite—Humphrey's compelling visionary activism and Mondale's disciplined mastery of constituency politics—we would at last have the perfect liberal politician.

—Finlay Lewis

The Second Self: Computers and the Human Spirit. Sherry Turkle. *Simon & Schuster, $17.95*. A theater critic once wrote of a play so unconvincing that "not even the phone rang true." He might have been referring to *The Second Self*. While this book contains many insights into the emotional role computers are beginning to play in society, at times it smells so fake, I had difficulty taking it seriously.

Turkle, an MIT psychologist, sends readers on a voyage to the Planet of Composite People. They lurk like zombies at the beginning of paragraph after paragraph; their actual identities replaced with "change[d] details" and phony names. "Arthur, 34, is an architect. . ." "Shelley is a graduate student in computer sciences. . ." "Wayne bought his computer on an impulse, but soon it became a compulsion." They even suffer composite doubts. "Steve's classmate Paul had a very different reaction. He too came to ask whether free will was illusory. . . ." The recent torrent of composites and "restructured" conversations is beginning to take on the tone of a bad horror movie. Decent, average people are captured by sinister literary agents from beyond the stars: the actual facts of their lives stolen from them, they are forced to live out a hellish, semi-accurate existence, reinforcing preconceived notions and making short, pithy remarks.

The fake names and details might be understandable if Turkle were discussing the results of a formal sociological study, but she's not—rather she calls the book an "investigation" involving "thousands of hours of interviews and observations all over the United States," her technique being more like journalism than sociology and her interview subjects being no less than "informants." Not using names makes sense when there is some reason, clear to the reader, why identities must be withheld: usually when the source has placed himself in jeopardy by talking. But there's no reason I can see why Turkle's interviewees had to be anonymous. Hardly anything said is controversial or self-incriminating. (Reassuringly Turkle notes that "I use real names when I cite published material.")

No doubt the author did interview computer owners, and doubtless Shelley, Wayne, and the rest are similar to the real people they represent. But even for the most dedicated author, use of simulated reality holds a greater danger; once there is no named individual who might complain, *Hey, that's not what I said* or *That's not how it happened*, the temptation to embroider, and especially to tinker with quotes, can become irresistible. Almost immediately after "Anthony," a computer hacker, appears in a chapter about losing oneself in the machine, he declares, "Hacking is safe and easy and secure. I used to get into relationships that usually led to me getting burned in some way. . . ." Anthony's quotation goes on for 16 lines, lines that fit conveniently the logical flow of the chapter.

When Turkle speaks in her own voice—a real voice—the book is thought-provoking and often original, and much of what she has to say struck me as true. If a writer is possessed of truth, the most powerful form he can employ is the simple statement: to write *this is true*, if it is true, is a thousand times more effective than to present a set of evidence that, even if veritable (something the reader cannot

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possibly know when false names are employed), could easily be contradicted by another set of evidence. Truth in *The Second Self* gets jumbled up and lost among composites, and that is a shame for what might have been a fine book.

—*Gregg Easterbrook*

Diaries of Mario M. Cuomo: The Campaign for Governor. Mario M. Cuomo. *Random House, $19.95.* Not since Senator Alben Barkley talked his way into the national ticket in 1948 has anyone made such a politically potent convention keynote address as Mario Cuomo did in San Francisco on July 16, 1984. One of the ancillary effects of that speech was to stimulate the rather sluggish sales of this book, which had been suffering by comparison with its flashier, trashier rival, Ed Koch's kick-and-tell memoir, *Mayor*. And a good thing, too, for Cuomo's is a much better book and an unusually revealing one—revealing because its author really is the man whose name is on the cover, not some harried ghostwriter armed with tape recorder and clip file.

Cuomo's diary tells an irresistible political rags-to-riches story. In November 1980, when the book opens, Cuomo is the lieutenant governor of New York, traditionally a dead-end job; is a three-time loser as a candidate on his own; and has just spent a harrowing, thankless year managing the Carter reelection campaign in New York. His future does not look bright. At the end of the book, in January 1983, having defeated an overwhelmingly popular, conservative Democrat (Koch) and a fabulously rich conservative, he is inaugurated as governor.

Many of the qualities the national television audience discovered in Cuomo on July 16 are on display here. There is no great distance between the private and public man. He writes nearly as much about his parents, his wife, and his children as about politics; the family metaphor is firmly rooted in his life. The charm, clarity of vision, moral self-confidence, and eloquence of the keynote speech are here, too. What you see is what you get: a politician of extraordinary intelligence, ability, and deep liberal conviction. The subtlety of his mind, reinforced by a Jesuit education, has not prevented him from acquiring a Reagan-like talent for cutting through the "policy" fog and making direct conections between human realities and first principles.

Cuomo does not go out of his way to show off his flaws, but they, too, are at least suggested in this diary and the speeches appended to it. During the campaign, the book shows, he had no peer—no truly close friend or associate his age in whom he could confide and to whom he could delegate responsibility. His campaign manager was his son, Andrew, 25 years old. Happily for readers of books, Cuomo's diary seems to have been his confidante. But if his lack of close peers during the period covered by

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the diaries signals an inability to forge such relationships, then there is trouble ahead. Politicians without peers too often find themselves surrounded by worshipful young people whose concept of loyalty stops short of delivering bad news.

The flip side of Cuomo's moral seriousness is a kind of moral vanity—an attachment to his own virtue that risks becoming excessive. For example, Cuomo is probably more responsible than any single person (apart from Jimmy Carter) for the fact that Walter Mondale won the Democratic nomination. Why did Cuomo go all-out for Mondale after Mondale had lost in New Hampshire, a moment when other politicians were busily backing away? Because he was convinced that the republic would be in peril if Gary Hart rather than Mondale were the nominee? Not very likely. As Cuomo notes in his book, Mondale failed to endorse him for governor against Koch, despite Cuomo's loyalty, and Koch's disloyalty, to the Carter-Mondale ticket. It's hard to avoid the suspicion that Cuomo's devotion to Mondale had more to do with a desire to give Mondale and the world a demonstration of real loyalty, of true Cuomo grit, than with any particular conviction that Mondale would really be the best candidate.

Of course, with flaws like this last one Cuomo almost doesn't need virtues, and the Democrats are awfully lucky to have at least one politician who can be discussed in these terms. Reading his book did nothing to shake my conviction, formed when I first met him in Albany eight years ago, that this man will eventually be president. If that happens, he'll be the first really accomplished writer to reach the highest office since Wilson. *Diaries of Mario M. Cuomo: The White House Years* is a book to look forward to.

—Hendrik Hertzberg

Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School. Theodore Sizer. *Houghton Mifflin, $16.95.* This book is filled with insightful observations about America's high schools. Sizer, former headmaster at Andover and chairman of yet another national commission that's studying public education, visited dozens of American high schools and made a special (and welcome) effort to understand the students.

Students, Sizer observes, are generally sophisticated but largely unschooled; they have learned that passivity in the classroom is rewarded, that one needn't expend much energy to get by. Many teachers acquiesce in this docility, either because they are overburdened by too many students, or because they're trying desperately to be liked, or because they can't teach, period. As for the good teachers, Sizer notes their authority is constantly being undercut by meddlesome administrators and petty intrusions. "Public address systems," Sizer quips, "are the most malevolent intruder into the thinking taking place in public school classrooms since the invention of the flickering fluorescent light."

Sizer calls for giving teachers more authority, while subjecting them to greater performance evaluation. He wants to replace the typical six 55-minute periods a day with fewer, longer blocks of time that stress the acquisition of cognitive skills rather than facts. He also favors a "mastery" approach; once students demonstrate a mastery of these areas, they should be free to leave school.

The book's main flaw is that it's distracting to read. Peppered with banalities—"Adolescents are complicated. . . .They come in all shapes and sizes"—it rambles and has no discernable structure.

The last chapter should be read first; its point—that our schools' woes can be traced directly to bureaucratic imperatives—is so good that one wishes Sizer had explored it further. The typical modern high school is large—at least 1,500 students—and organized in a hierarchical, top-down fashion. As with all large bureaucracies, the emphasis is on the quantifiable and the classifiable. Specialties proliferate as jobs get balkanized. Competing interests develop—administrators vs. the unions—and government regulators step in to dictate esoteric standards such as how many reading credits a special education teacher needs. "The people are better than the structure," Sizer observes.

—Phillip Keisling

Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age. Benjamin Barber. *University of California Press, $18.50.* Many liberals distrust democracy. Given the opportunity, they fear, ignorant masses would destroy liberal institutions. Better to restrict participation lest a tyrannical majority repeal civil rights laws, reintroduce creationism to the classroom, or universalize California's Proposition 13.

In this provocative book, political scientist Benjamin Barber turns this fear on its head. Liberal institutions, he claims, are undermining democracy. Not enough people are permitted meaningful participation in politics. We turn important disputes over to judges or bureaucrats when we should be encouraging citizen involvement in fashioning political compromises. As a result, Barber concludes, American politics has become selfish, adversarial, and increasingly irrelevant to the common man. And in the process, we have destroyed our sense of community and common purpose.

—Andrew Moravscik

A Season of Spoils. Jonathan Lash. *Pantheon, $9.95.* Hailed by such groups as the National Audubon Society and the Environmental Policy Center, this book provides ample fuel for those who wish to attack one of the administration's most glaring weak spots. One example: When former EPA Deputy Administrator John Hernandez was asked about acid rain, for example, his response was a scalding, "Never use those words with me. There is no such thing."

—Jamie Merisotis

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BROOKINGS

The Government/Press Connection

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A shrewd and lively look at federal government press offices—their organization, functions, personnel, and relationships with reporters—by the author of *The Washington Reporters*. Hess particularly investigates the truth of claims by journalists and others that government press operations waste money, that press officers are incompetent and unprofessional, and that, by means of leaks, lies, and misinformation, government press operations manipulate or control the nation's news.
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Alice M. Rivlin, Editor

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